

THE
Roman HISTORY
OF
C. Velleius Paterculus.

IN TWO BOOKS.

Translated from the OXFORD
EDITION, and collated with
all the former ones of Note.

By *THOMAS NEWCOMB*, M. A.
Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of
Richmond.

To which is Prefixed,
A Character of the AUTHOR,
and his Writings, extracted from
Mens. *Bayle*, and others.

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T O
CECIL BISHOP, *Esq;*

S I R,

I Have long wanted an Opportunity of publishing to the World, the many and great Obligations I lie under to Your honourable Parents, and thought I could do it in no Way more agreeable, than in paying a grateful Compliment to a Son, who lives so dear to, and so

A 2 justly

The DEDICATION.

justly valued by each of 'em.
Were not my Author's Character considerable, I should not have ventur'd to inscribe this Translation to a Gentleman of the politest Taste in all valuable Learning ; making those Accomplishments the Ornaments of his Youth, which wou'd have given Lustre to others, when advanced in Years. I want the Author's Talent in fine Address to recommend him, more effectually in the *English* Tongue. The Colours are beautiful and strong in the Original, and if they appear weak and faded in the Copy, you who know too well the difficult Differences in the Languages, will be the readier
to

The DEDICATION.

to pardon my Defects. You who have pass'd with Applause thro' the most accomplish'd School of Literature, that our own Island, or perhaps any other Country of the World can boast of, will be ready to favour an Attempt to make this excellent Classick speak *English*; especially since he conveys to us some of the most valuable and important Parts of the *Roman* Story, in which you are so well vers'd, and so great a Master. *Horace* thought it no small Accomplishment to his *Mæcenas*, that he was skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; and I have the Pleasure of applying his *Doctus utriusq; Linguae* to one much younger, and more

The DEDICATION.

early ripe in all Letters. You now, Sir, are setting out, to take a View of the Scenes of those great Actions which my Author describes; and at your Return, we may expect as many fine Observations in History, in as finish'd a Stile; and indeed, 'tis Pity that any Gentlemen are suffer'd to visit the Courts of foreign Princes, who are not furnished with your Parts and Learning, and have not first been an Ornament to our own. Were the rest of our Youth, who are sent Abroad, happy in your Accomplishments, we shou'd be no longer the Ridicule of more Polite Nations, but be as much admir'd for the
Exactness

The DEDICATION.

Exactness and Delicacy of our
Manners, as we are dreaded for
the Terror of our Arms. Fir'd
with the Love of Antiquity, you
leave the Embraces of the most
indulgent Parents, and sincerest
Friends, to bring back the Treasures
of Learning from *Greece*
or *Rome*, and to render your self
still more amiable and useful to
your Family, your Country, and
the World : Which is the sincere
Wish and Prayer of

S I R,

*Your most obliged,
and most humble Servant,*

THO. NEWCOMB.





PREFACE.

Giving some Account of the
Author.

CA IUS Velleius Paterculus,
a Roman Historian, flourish'd
in the Reigns of Augustus and
Tiberius Cæsar. 'Tis very
probable he was born in the
Year of Rome 735. His Ancestors were ve-
ry illustrious, as well for their Merit, as the
great Offices they held in the State. He was
a Tribune of the Soldiers, when Caius Cæ-
sar, a Grandson of Augustus, had an Inter-
view with the King of the Parthians in an
Island of Euprates in 753. He commanded
the Cavalry of Tiberius, and accompanied
that Prince nine Years successively in all his
Expeditions, and received very honourable
and

and signal Rewards from him. He was preferred at last to the Prætorship; but it does not appear that he arriv'd to any higher Dignities. The Praises he bestows on Sejanus, give some Probability to the Conjecture, that he was look'd upon as a great Friend to this new Favourite, and consequently that he was involv'd in his Ruin. The Remarks of that imperfect History which is left us, are very elegant and curious. He promis'd a much larger Account of the Affairs of his Country, especially of the Illyrian War, where he was commander, which he either never wrote, or is entirely lost. To confirm the Nobility of his Descent, see what he says himself of his Ancestors (Lib. 2. Chap. 16.) Neq; Ego Verecundia, domestici sanguinis Gloriæ, quicquam detraham, &c. He had an Uncle of the Senatorian Order, named Capito, who join'd Agrippa in accusing Cassius, one of the Murderers of Cæsar. He had also a Brother that bore a very honourable Post in the Dalmatian War, and was afterwards Prætor. He gives us this Account of him (Lib. 2. Cap. 115.) Cæsar ad alteram belli Dalmatici molem animum atq; arma contulit. In qua Regione, quali adjutore, legatoq; fratre meo Magio Celeri Velleiano usus sit, ipsius patriq; ejus prædicatione testatum est; & amplissimorum Honorum, quibus triumphans

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phans *Cæsar* eum donavit, signat memoria: *He was preferr'd to the Prætorship in the Year in which Augustus died, which he informs us of very artfully (Lib. 2. Cap. 124.) in these Words.* — Quo tempore mihi fratriq; meo candidatis *Cæsar*is, proxime a nobilissimis ac Sacerdotatibus viris destinari prætoribus contigit; ut neque post nos quemquam *D. Augustus*, neq; ante nos, *Cæsar* Commendaret. *Tiberius. The Advances in his future Fortune he declares in several Passages of his History. Habuit in hoc quoq; bello (speaking of the War against the Pannonians) Mediocritas nostra speciosi ministri Locum; finita Equestri militia designatus quæstor, nec dum Senator, æquatus Senatoribus; etiam designatus tribunus plebis, ab urbe traditi ab Augusto, perduxi ad Filium ejus.*

In quæstura deinde remissa sorte provinciæ Legatus ejusdem ad eundem missum. *Speaking of himself in another place, (Lib. 2. cap. 104.) he tells us, Hoc tempus, me functum ante tribunatu castrorum Tib. Cæsar*is militem fecit. Quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo Præfectus Equitum in *Germaniam*, Successor officij Patris mei, Cælestissimorum ejus operum per annos continuos IX, Præfectus
aut

aut Legatus, Spectator, & pro captu mediocritatis mei adjutor fui. *He appear'd at the famous Triumph of Tiberius with very great Marks of Honour; which Hankius (De Scriptoribus Rerum Romanorum, Tom I. p. 90) places in the Year 740. which was 20 Years or more before it cou'd possibly happen. For Paternus made his first Campaign in the Year 753. He has been very justly blamed by his Commentators for his Flattery of Sejanus, and those exorbitant Praises he bestows on him: See Chap. 127, 128. Lib. II. He is blamed, says a very considerable Author, (La mothe le Vayer, p. 194.) and that with great Reason, for his ridiculous Elogiums, not only to Tiberius, but his Favourite Sejanus, whose Merits he twice declares, as one of the principal and most virtuous Persons in the Roman Commonwealth. What did he do in this (continues the same Author) but what is commonly practis'd by all those who write the History of their own Times, and will publish it while the Persons he writes off are still alive: And Lipsius has as freely censur'd him for his great Partiality (Epist. Quæst. Lib. 5.) ex antiquis (says he) bilem mihi movet. Vel- leius Paternus Ælium Sejanum omnibus Virtutibus accumulât, & quasi in Thea-
tro*

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tro plena manu Laudat. Os Historici! ac nos eum scimus, Natum & extinctum in exitium generis humani. Liviam Augustam post multas Laudes, Diis quam Hominibus similiorem sceminam concludit; jam de Tiberio flagitium sit, si unquam aliter quam ut de Jove immortaliloquatur: Hæc, liber & ingenuus animus qui ferat? Contra, ut Germanici Caesaris laudes ubiq; callide dissimulat? Ut Agrippinam, & quibus aliis in fensor Tiberius crederetur, oblique premit? Quid multa? Non aliquid, quam Mancipium Aulæ agit: Dices intuta, illis temporibus veritas fuit. Fateor; sed vere scribere si non licuit falsa non debuit. *The Beginning of his History, which gave us a more general Account of antient Times, and a great part of the Body of it, from the Rape of the Sabine Virgins, to the Conquest of Greece, is entirely lost; and the Observation is very just, which a great Critick makes on this History, That the Remembrance of so many Countries the Author had seen while he was a Military Tribune, and his travelling thro' so many Provinces, as Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, the Lesser Asia, and especially about the Coasts of the Euxine Sea, and other more Eastern Nations, must have furnished him with Materials*

terials for a very noble Work, which he promis'd in several Parts of this short History.

From whence we may conclude, that if he had finish'd those Accounts he design'd, we should have read a considerable Number of very great Actions (which are now lost) as related by one who was not only present to behold 'em, but had so honourable a Share in their Execution: In that little which still remains of them, wherein there is nothing represented but by way of Abridgment; there are many Particulars observ'd, which are so much the more valuable, as his History is the only Place wherein they are recorded, or taken Notice of; either thro' the Silence of other Historians, or thro' the common Misfortune of having some part of their Works lost: The Stile of Paterculus plainly discovers the Age he wrote in. He is chiefly excellent, when he blames or commends those he writes of; which he does in such Terms, and delicate Expressions, as are not to be found in any other Historian or O-rator. And indeed we have nothing more pure in any Roman Author, or more worthy of the Augustan Age! And it seems hard to account for, how such an Author, so worthy to have been preserv'd with Care, and of which so many Copies, by reason of their Brevity, might have been taken, should be left us thus imper-

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imperfect. 'Tis said indeed, that the MS. from which Rhenanus publish'd the first Edition of this Author, (at Basil 1520.) was the only one that was in the World. And 'tis remarkable, that no antient Author beside Priscian, makes mention of Paterculus. The Moderns have done a great deal more Justice to him: Several of them have publish'd him with very learned Notes and Commentaries. Mr. Donjat has translated him into the French Language for the Use of the Dauphin, in 1679. And to make this Work a continued History, has endeavour'd to supply what was wanting in Paterculus. L'psius publish'd this Author at Leyden, in 1591. Schegkius at Frankfort, in 1602. Gerard Vossius at Leyden, in 1639. Thysius at Leyden, in 1668. Variorum Notis. Boeclerus at Strasburg, in 1642. as many others have done since. The Annales Velleiani of Mr. Dodwell, prefixt to the Oxford Edition, publish'd in 1693, (to which we refer the Reader for a fuller Account of the Author's Life,) are a Piece of Learning which discover a very great Skill in Antiquity. Paterculus wrote his History in the 982 Year of Rome, and in the 16th Year of the Reign of Tiberius.

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E R R A T A.

PAG. 3. line 14, for *dispossesses* read *Dispossess*.
 p. 13. l. 19. for *Rite* r. *Rites*. p. 25. l. 16. for
to r. *for*. p. 26. l. 11. for *their* r. *the*. p. 33. l. 12.
 for *the* r. *that*. p. 38. l. 1. dele *Fourth*. p. 40. l. 9.
 after *been* add *enjoy'd*. p. 60. l. 3. for *Dracus* r. *Dru-*
sus. ibid 26. after *this* add *War*. p. 61. l. 29. for
Expedition r. *Expulsion*. p. 75. l. 12. after *as* add *so*.
 p. 76. l. 3. for *Pizan* r. *Pyraan*. p. 97. l. 8 for *their*
 r. *his*. ibid 26. for *Sergius, Cataline*, r. *Sergius Ca-*
taline. p. 115. l. 2. for *was* r. *were*. p. 120. l. 4. for
of r. *into*. ibid. after *of* add *a*. p. 134. ult. after
desert add *him*. p. 142. l. 15. for *Opis* r. *Ops*. p. 147
 l. 2. for *Tone* r. *Sense*. p. 165. l. 8. for *Pyraeius* r.
Pyraey.



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BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Divers Cities founded by the Greeks returning from Troy. Agamemnon's Death reveng'd by his Son Orestes.

E was driven from his
Commander *Nestor* in a
Storm, and built *Meta-*
pont : *Teucer* could not ob-
tain a Reception from his
Father *Telamon*, who resented his Negli-
gence in prosecuting the Injuries done to
his Brother, and so sailed off to *Cyprus*,
B and

and there built a City, which he called after the Name of his Native Country *Salamis*. *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*, made himself Master of *Epirus*, as did *Phidippus* of *Ephyra* in *Thesprotia*: But the King of Kings, *Agamemnon*, being drove upon the Island of *Crete* by foul Weather, founded three Cities, two of them had their Names from his own Country *Mycene* and *Tegea*; the third of them, as a Monument of his Victories, he stiled *Pergamus*. Soon after this he was murdered by the Treachery of his Wife and Cousin German *Ægisthus*, who prosecuted that hereditary Hatred which had long been entertained between the two Families. *Ægisthus* seated himself upon the Throne, and reign'd seven Years. *Orestes*, by the Instigation of his Sister *Electra*, a Woman of a Masculine Courage, who had a Share in all his Designs, slays *Ægisthus*, and his own Mother *Clytemnestra*. This Fact was acceptable to the Gods; as appeared by the fortunate Reign, and long Life which he enjoy'd: for he lived ninety, and reigned seventy Years. He likewise revenged himself upon *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, and killed him at *Delphos*, for marrying *Hermione*, Daughter

of Velleius Paterculus. 3

ter to *Menelaus* and *Helena*, after she had been engaged to him. About this time, two Brothers, *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*, who reigned in *Lydia*, were obliged by Famine to cast Lots which of them should take part of the People, and quit his own Country. The Lot fell upon *Tyrrhenus* to do this: He brought them into *Italy*, where he left an honourable and lasting Name to the Place, the Inhabitants, and adjacent Sea. After the Decease of *Orestes*, his Sons *Penthelus* and *Tisamenus* held the Government three Years.

C H A P. II.

The Heraclidæ dispossesses the Race of Pelops of Peloponnesus. The Glorious and Remarkable Death of Codrus, the last of the Athenian Kings. Megara, Gades, and Utica founded.

ABout the eightieth Year from the Destruction of *Troy*, and the hundred and twentieth from the Translation of *Hercules* to the Gods, the Posterity of *Pelops*, who had held the Kingdom of *Peloponnesus* against the *Heraclidæ* all this time, were now driven out by them The

Authors of this Restoration were, *Temenus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, who were of the third Descent from *Hercules*. About this Time the Government of Kings in *Athens* was abolished: The last of them was *Codrus*, the Son of *Melanthus*, a Man of an extraordinary Character. For when the *Lacedemonians* oppressed *Attica* with a very grievous War, the Oracle was consulted, and answered, That they should win the Field, who lost their General in the Engagement. Upon this he divested himself of his Robes of State, put on the Attire of a Shepherd, and went into the Enemies Quarters, where not being known, he was killed in a Quarrel he had purposely raised. Thus did his Death purchase to himself immortal Glory, and a memorable Victory to the *Athenians*. 'Tis admirable that this great Man should seek to lose his Life by the same means [a Disguise] which others of a meaner Spirit use to preserve it. His Son *Medon* was the first *Archon* at *Athens*, from whom his Posterity were called *Medontida*. They and the following *Archons*, continued in that Dignity for Term of Life, down to the Time of *Charops*. The *Peloponnesians* retiring from *Attica*,

tica, built *Megara*, at an equal Distance from *Corinth* and *Athens*. About this time the Fleet belonging to *Tyre*, which had then the Command of the Seas, built *Gades*, in an Island a little off of *Spain*, in the most remote Corner of the World: soon afterwards they founded *Utica* in *Afric*. The Family of *Orestes*, ejected by the *Heracidae*, having endured the greatest Hardships by Land and Sea for fifteen Years, at last seated themselves upon the Island of *Lesbos*.

C H A P. III.

Civil Wars and Tumults in Greece; Thessaly conquer'd by the Pelasgians, under the Conduct of one Thessalus, from whence it deriv'd its Name: The City of Corinth founded by Haletes.

THE State of Greece was now in the utmost Tumults and Disorders; the *Achaëans* being beat from *Laconia*, planted themselves in the Country they now possess: The *Pelasgians* retired to *Athens*; a gallant young Gentleman of *Thesprotia*, called *Thessalus*, put himself at the Head of a considerable Body of Citizens,

tizens, and subdued the Country, which now from him is call'd *Thessaly*, tho' before 'twas siled the *City of the Myrmidons*. I can't but admire, that they who write Accounts of the Times of *Troy*, mention this Place by the Name of *Thessaly*. The Tragedians frequently commit this Fault, tho' they have not the least Pretence to an Excuse for it ; for they represent nothing under their own Person, but make those speak who lived in the Age they treat of. It can't be answered that this Name was deriv'd from *Thessalus* the Son of *Hercules*, because the Place never bore this Title till the Time of the *Thessalus* I speak of. A little before this, *Aletes*, the Son of *Hippotes*, a Descendant the sixth from *Hercules*, built *Corinth*, before call'd *Ephyre*, upon an *Isthmus*. 'Tis no wonder that *Homer* calls it by this Name, for as a Poet he took the Liberty to mention this, and some other Colonies in *Ionian*; by the Titles they bore when he lived, tho' they were founded long after the Destruction of *Troy*.

C H A P. IV.

*Colonies settled in Chalcis by the Athenians :
In Magnesia by the Lacedemonians : Cu-
mæ and Naples founded : More Colonies
settled on the Continent, and in the adja-
cent Isles.*

THE Athenians driving out the Inhabitants, sent Colonies to *Chalcis* in *Eubæa* : The *Lacedemonians* seiz'd upon *Magnesia* in *Asia*. Not long afterwards the *Chalcidenses*, being (as I have mentioned) descended from *Attica*, built *Cumæ* in *Italy*, under the Command of *Hippocles* and *Megasthenes*. The Course of the Navy, as some say, was directed by a Dove which fled before it : others, by a Noise of Instruments of Brass, such as is usually heard at the Feasts of *Ceres* : Some of their Citizens a long time afterwards built *Naples*. The constant Fidelity of these two Cities to the *Romans*, renders them worthy of the Fame and beautiful Situation they enjoy : Tho' others have been more exact in observing the original Customs of their Country : For the Neighbourhood of *Osca* very much altered the Manners of the *Cumæans*.

The ancient Grandeur and Strength of these Cities, is evident from the Extent and Remains of the Walls yet standing. In Process of Time Greece was over-burthened with the Number of its Inhabitants, so that it discharged a great Body of Youth, who seated themselves in *Asia*. The *Ionians*, under the Conduct of one *Ion*, left *Athens*, and made themselves Masters of the finest Part of the Sea Coast, which is now called *Ionia*: Here they built *Ephesus*, *Miletus*, *Colophon*, *Priene*, *Lebedus*, *Myuns*, *Erythra*, *Clazomenæ*, *Phocæa*: They took many Islands in the *Ægean* and *Icarian* Seas into their Subjection; as *Samus*, *Chius*, *Andrus*, *Tenus*, *Parus*, *Delus*, with many others of less Repute. Soon after the *Æolians* quitted Greece, and after they had wandered many Years, planted themselves in as eminent Seats: They built several Cities, as *Smyrna*, *Cyme*, *Larissa*, *Myrina*, *Mitylene*, and many others in the Island *Lesbos*.

C H A P. V.

The Age and Character of HOMER.

ABout this time the illustrious Genius of HOMER discover'd it self to the World, which was unquestionably the greatest of all Ages. The Brightness and Dignity of his Verse have justly gained him the Pre-eminence in *Poetry*. What is most admirable in him is, that he had no one before him to imitate, or after him who could arrive at his Beauties: That never any who were the first Inventors of an Art, brought it to its utmost Perfection, besides HOMER and ARCHILOCHUS: He lived at a greater Distance than is commonly believed, from the Times of the *Trojan War*, which he wrote. 'Tis now Nine hundred and fifty Years since he Flourished, and near a Thousand since he was Born; so that we may easily account for that Expression so frequent in the *Iliad*, οἷος ὦν βεβροί εἰσι, which denotes a great Difference in Time, as well as a Declension in the Strength of Man. They who imagine he was born Blind, want that Sense themselves which they vanily conjecture he was deprived of.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

The Assyrian Empire, that had lasted 1070 Years, in the Reign of Sardanapalus, the last King translated to the Medes by Pharnaces, in the Time of Lycurgus the great Lawgiver of the Spartans.

A Considerable Time after this, the Empire of *Asia*, which had been held by the *Assyrians* for a thousand and seventy Years, devolved to the *Medes* about seven hundred and seventy Years since. Their last King was *Sardanapalus*, who was the 33d in a Lineal Succession from *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, the Founders of *Babylon*: He was abandoned to Ease and Luxury, and possess'd himself of an Opinion, that Pleasure was the only Happiness he could arrive to, tho' it proved his Ruine, being deprived of his Life and Kingdom by *Pharnaces* a *Mede*. In this Age the Glory of *Greece*, *Lycurgus*, a Man of a royal Descent, and a most laudable Austerity of Life, established those severe and honourable Laws, which perpetuated his Memory, and contributed to the Happiness of *Sparta*, so long as it observ'd his Injunctions. Near this
Time

Time (65 Years before the building of Rome) *Elissa* a *Tyrian*, who as some think was the same with *Dido*, founded the City of *Carthage*: *Caranus*, a Man of an honourable Extraction, and the 16th in Descent from *Hercules*, invested himself in the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. He was succeeded by Kings of his own Race, down to *Alexander*, who had the Honour to be descended from *Hercules* by his Father's, and *Achilles* by his Mother's Side. *Æmilius Sura*, in his *Annals* of Rome, tells us, That the *Assyrians* obtained the first Universal Monarchy, and were Masters of all Nations; afterwards the *Persians*, and then the *Macedonians*. The last of their Kings, *Philip* and *Antiochus*, were subdued soon after *Carthage* was laid in Ruines; and then the Empire of the World devolved to the *Romans*. From the beginning of the Reign of *Ninus*, King of *Assyria*, to this Translation of the *Macedonian* Empire, are reckoned 1995 Years.

C H A P. VII.

*Hesiod flourishes 120 Years after Homer :
Some Difficulties cleared, relating to the
Time of the Building of Capua.*

IN this Age lived *Hesiod*, about 120 Years after the Times of *Homer* : He was a Man of a very refined *Genius*, very remarkable for the easy flowing of his Verse, an entire Lover of Indolence and Retirement, and was nearest to *Homer*, both in Time and Reputation, tho' his Birth and Country are better known ; for he mentions his Parents and Country, tho' he speaks of the latter with some Resentment, because he had been treated very ungratefully by it. While I am taken up with Matters which happened Abroad, I must take Notice of an Affair in my own Country, which stands very different in the Accounts of Authors : Some say, that *Capua* and *Nola* were built by the *Tuscan*s 800 Years ago. This is my Opinion, tho' *M. Cato* dissents very much from it : He asserts, that *Capua* was built by the *Tuscan*s, and afterwards *Nola* ; and that *Capua* had stood about 260 Years before it was taken by the *Romans* ;

mans ; so that, being 'tis no more than 240 Years since it was taken, it can be but 500 since 'twas built. I must ask *Ca-to's* Pardon, if I cannot believe that so great a City could rise, flourish, be destroyed, and arise to its original Greatness again in so short a Time.

C H A P. VIII.

The Institution of the famous Olympick Games, by Iphitus the Elean, before the Consulship of Vinicius 904 Years. Rome founded by Romulus, in the 6th Olympiad.

AFTER this, the celebrated Games for the Exercises both of the Body and Mind, (I mean the *Olympicks*) were instituted by *Iphitus* the *Elean*, 904 Years before you, Great Sir, entred upon the Consulship: 'Tis thought by some, that *Atreus*, 1250 Years ago, performed the Funeral Rite to his Father *Pelops* in this Place, where *Hercules* bore away the Prizes in every Exercise at these Games. About this time the *Archons* at *Athens* ceased to hold that Dignity for their Life: (The last that did was *Alcmaeon*) and were elected every tenth Year. This Institution con-

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tinued

tinued 70 Years, and then the Administration was committed to *Annual Magistrates*. The first of the *Decennial Governors* was *Charops*; the last was *Eryx*. The first of the *Annual* was *Creon*. In the 6th *Olympiad*, 22 Years from the beginning of that *Æra*; *ROMULUS*, the Son of *Mars*, (having reveng'd the Wrongs done to his Grandfather) founded the City *ROME* upon Mount *Palatine*, in the Feasts of *Pales*, 782 Years before your Consulship *, and 437 after the Destruction of *Troy*. He was assisted with Forces from his Grandfather *Latinus* in this Work. I very willingly embrace this Opinion, since I cannot think he could easily establish a new City only with a Company of undisciplined, and unexperienced Shepherds, lying open to the Insults of the *Vejentes*, *Etrurians*, and *Sabines*, tho' he had much enlarged it, by erecting an *Asylum* between two Groves. He chose an Hundred Men, which he called *Fathers*, and appointed them his Council of State. This is the Original of the Name *Patricii*. The Rape of the *Sabine Virgins*

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CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

The Overthrow of Perſes, King of Macedon, by Paulus Æmilius : Octavius victorious at Sea, whileſ Anicius ſubdues Gentius, King of Illyrium.

HE gained what the Enemy was moſt afraid of: He had carried on the War with the Conſuls for two Years with various Succeſs, oftentimes came off with Victory, and had drawn off a great Part of Greece into his Alliance. Nay, the invincible Fidelity of the Rhodians was now ſhaken, and they began to encline to the Fortunate Party. King Eumenes, contrary to his firſt Behaviour to his Brother, and the former Courſe of his own Reign, did not dare to eſpouſe the Quarrel on either Side. In this Juncture the Senate and People of Rome deputed L. Æmilius Paullus (who had before triumphed whilſt Prætor and Conſul) to undertake the latter Office again: He was a Man who deſerved all the Honours due to a ſtriſt and regular Virtue: He was Son to that Paullus, who died as bravely in the unfortunate Battle of Cannæ, as he had before unwillingly engag'd

in it : He overthrew *Perfes*, near the City *Pydna* in *Macedonia*, beat him out of his Camp, and entirely ruined his Forces ; and when all Hopes of retrieving his Affairs were lost, he obliged him to quit *Macedonia*, and retreat to the Island *Samothrace*, where he fled to a Temple for Sanctuary. *Cn. Octavius* the Prætor, who was Admiral of the Fleet, came thither to him, and prevailed upon him rather by Perswasion than Force, to submit to the Clemency of *Rome*. Thus *Paullus* led this great and noble Prince in Triumph. The same Year was remarkable for the Triumphs of *OCTAVIUS*, Admiral of the Fleet, and *Anicius*, who drove *Gentius* the King of the *Illyrians* before his Chariot. We may here see how closely great Fortune is pursued by Envy, how it always follows the Brave and Great. There were none who reflected upon the Triumphs of *Anicius* or *Octavius* ; but many would have opposed that of *Paulus*, tho' it exceeded all that ever were before it, by the Valour of the Captive King *Perfes*, the Shew of the Statues, and the Quantity of Money, which was Two Hundred Millions of Sesterces, which he brought into the Treasury ; so that

that it far surpassed all other in Splendor and Magnificence.

C H A P. X.

Antiochus oblig'd to raise the Siege of Alexandria, by a noble Action of Popilius Lena the Roman Ambassador; Æmilius loseth both his Sons, just at the Time of his Triumph.

AT that Time *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of Syria, who had set up the *Olympick Games at Athens*, besieged the Infant King *Ptolemy* in *Alexandria*: *M. Popilius Lena* was detached with an Express, to command him to desist: When he had delivered his Orders, and the King answered he would consider of it, he immediately drew a Circle round him, with a Rod he had in his Hand, and required him to give his final Resolution before he should stir out of it. This gallant Bravery of the *Roman*, put an end to the King's Deliberation, and obliged him to comply with the Commands of *Rome*. *Lucius Paullus*, who had obtained a very remarkable Victory, had four Sons; the two eldest he disposed of in Adoption;

the one to *P. Scipio*, Son of *Africanus*, who preserved nothing of the Greatness of his Father, but the Honour of his Name and the Force of his Eloquence ; the other to *Fabius Maximus*. The two youngest being under Age at the Time of his Victory, he retained at Home : He made an Harangue without the City the Day before his Triumph, and in giving the History of his Exploits and Successes (as was usual) implored the Gods, That if any repined at his Actions, or good Fortune, they might exert their Revenge against himself, rather than the State. This Expression (as if it had been spoken by an Oracle) occasion'd the Effusion of a great deal of the Blood of his Progeny. He lost one of his Sons, which he kept in his House a few Days before his Triumph, and the other of them not long after it. The severe Censorship of *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Posthumius Albinus*, happened in this Juncture : For *Cn. Fulvius*, Brother and Partner in all his Designs, with the Censor, was by them expelled the Senate.

C H A P. XI.

A Counterfeit King of Macedon is overthrown by Metellus. His glorious and fortunate Life and Death.

AFTER the Overthrow and Taking of *Perfes*, who died within four Years, in an easy Confinement at *Alba*, *Pseudo-philippus*, so called from his pretending himself of the Blood Royal, and stiling himself *Philippus*, took up the Ensigns of Sovereignty, and forced his way to the Government of *Macedonia*, but was soon brought to Punishment for his Rashness, and bold Attempt. *Q. Metellus* the Prætor, whose Valour purchased him the Title of *Macedonicus*, destroyed him and his Forces in a very remarkable Battle, and utterly defeated the *Achaans*, who were then rising into a Rebellion. This is that *Metellus Macedonicus* who erected the *Galleries* which surround the two Temples, without any Titles of Dedication, and are now enclosed by *Octavia's* Porches. 'Twas he who brought the Row of *Equestrian* Statues from *Macedonia*, which look toward the Front of the Temples, of which Authors give this Account. *Alexander*

Alexander the Great requested of *Lysippus*, a curious Workman in Stone, to carve the Images of those who fell out of his own Company of Horse in passing the River *Granicus*, and to place his own in the middle of them. *Metellus* was the first who built an House of Marble out of the Remains of those Monuments; so that he may be accounted the Introducer, either of Magnificence or Luxury into *Rome*. You'll scarce meet with one of any Nation, Age, or Degree of Men, who enjoyed so great a Felicity as *Metellus*; for besides his Triumphs and Honours, his being promoted to the highest Office in State, and living to a very great Age; besides the noble Services he had done to his Country, in a vigorous and honourable Prosecution of its Enemies, he had four Sons, and saw them all grown to Mens Estate, and left them in Possession of the highest Dignity and Reputation: His Body was supported before the *Rostra* by his Children; one of them was of the *Consular* and *Censorian* Order, the other of the *Consular*; the third was then *Consul*; the fourth was a Candidate for that Office, and afterwards enjoyed it.

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His End seemed to be rather a fortunate Retreat from Life, than properly to die.

C H A P. XII.

Corinth rebelling against the Romans, is overthrown by Mummius, and Carthage by Scipio Æmilianus. His Character, and noble Exploits.

*A*chaia was still in Arms, tho' the greatest Part of that Insurrection was quelled by the Conduct and Bravery of *Metellus*: That Country was drawn in by the Instigation of the *Corinthians*, who themselves had offered the highest Indignities and Affronts to *Rome*. The Care of that War was committed to the Consul *Mummius*. At the same Time the *Romans*, because they would believe all Reports against the *Carthaginians*, rather than what ought to have been credited, resolved to demolish *Carthage*. At that Time *P. Scipio Æmilianus*, (who was adopted by *Scipio*, Son of *Africanus*, from his Father *Paullus*, as I have mentioned) a Man who every way expressed the Virtues of his Grandfather *P. Africanus*, and his Father *L. Paullus*, in the greatest Endowments

dowments of Peace and War, and excelled in the most eminent Accomplishments of Learning, beyond any of his Age, who never said or thought any thing but what was great and honourable in the whole Course of his Life, when he stood for the Office of *Ædile* was invested in the Consulship. He prosecuted the War against *Carthage* with greater Vigour than the preceding Consuls who began it. He had before been honoured with a *Mural Crown* in *Spain*, and an *Obsidional* in *Afric*; and tho' he was but of a middle Stature himself, being challenged by an Enemy of a prodigious Size to a single Fight, he encounter'd and overcame him. He utterly destroyed the City of *Carthage* (which became odious to *Rome*, rather from an Envy of its Grandeur, than any thing justly blameable) and made it a Monument of his Valour, as it had been before of his Grandfather's Clemency. This City was demolished 667 Years from its Foundation, 177 Years ago, in the Consulship of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Mummius*. This was the end of the Glory of *Carthage*: Our Ancestors first began a War against it, when *Claudius* and *Fulvius* were Consuls, 296 Years before

before you, Great Sir, entered upon that Office ; so that for 115 Years, these two Nations were either in open Hostilities, Preparations for War, or enjoyed a short, uncertain Peace. Thus we see, that Enmity, when once heightened by publick Differences, continues longer than the Fear of Danger, and our Hatred never ceases before the Object of it is entirely destroy'd.

C H A P. XIII.

The Death of Marcus Cato : A Comparison between Scipio and Mummius ; the one surnamed the African, the other the Achai-an, from their different Conquests.

THree Years before the Destruction of Carthage, in the Consulship of L. Censorinus and M. Manlius, died M. Cato, who always vigorously maintained that it should be demolished. In the same Year that City was rased, Corinth was destroyed by L. Mummius, 952 Years after it was first built by Aletes the Son of Hippo. These two Conquerors were honoured with the Titles of the Nations

tions they subdued; the one was surnamed *Africanus*, the other *Achaicus*. There was no one of obscure Descent, who purchased a Sirname by his Valour, before *Mummius*. These two Generals were of very different Dispositions. *Scipio* was so great an Admirer and Encourager of Learning, that he retained *Polybius* and *Panætius*, two very excellent Men, near his Person at Home and Abroad. No one ever knew so happily to turn his leisure Hours to Advantage, as *Scipio*. He was always improving his Mind in the Arts of War or Peace, ever employed in his Library, or his Camp, inuring his Body to Danger and Hardship, or enlarging his Mind with Knowledge. *Mummius*, on the other hand, was so rude and unpolished, that when, upon taking of *Corinth*, he had ordered some Statues of the most excellent Masters in that Art to be transported into *Italy*, he charged those who were to take care of them, that if any of them were broke, they should find new ones. But I believe, Great Sir, you'll agree with me, that it had been more to the Advantage of our State, that the Excellency of *Corinthian* Statues had never been understood by the *Romans*, and that our Ignorance

rance would have been more beneficial to the State, than the most exquisite Skill they were Masters of.

C H A P. XIV.

A brief Account of what Colonies were sent from Rome before Hannibal's coming into Italy.

Since a view of divers Actions brought together, and placed in one Account, makes a more lasting Impression upon the Memory, than if they were treated of apart, according to the Difference of Time in which they happened : Upon this Account I design'd to break off the First Volume of my History from the last, by some Observations, which I shall cast into a very narrow Compass ; and have reserved to this Place an History of the Colonies, which were planted by Order of the Senate, since *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls* : For those which were establish'd in Expeditions of War, are eminently distinguished by their Names, their Founders, and Occasions of their being planted. In going forward in this Design, we may observe how far this City

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was

was encreased and extended, by communicating its Privileges to Foreigners. Seven Years after the City was taken, a Colony was sent to *Sutrium*, a Year afterwards to *Setina*, 9 Years after that to *Nepe*; about 32 Years afterwards the *Aricini* were admitted free of the City; 350 Years ago *Sp. Posthumius* and *Veturius Calvinus* being Consuls, the *Campanians*, and part of the *Samnites* were granted their Freedom; but restrained their Liberty of giving their Voices in Elections. The same Year a Colony was seated at *Cales*. Within 3 Years afterwards the *Fundani* and *Formiani* were received into the City, the same Year in which *Alexandria* was built. The following Year the Censors *Spurius Posthumius*, and *Philo Publilius* gave the Freedom of the City to the *Acerrani*. Three Years afterwards a Colony was carried to *Tarracini*; 4 Years after that to *Luceria*; 3 Years after, Colonies were settled at *Suessa Aurunca*, and two Years afterwards at *Saticula* and *Interamna*. The next 10 Years, no Colonies were sent abroad, which soon afterwards were placed at *Sora* and *Alba*, and 2 Years afterwards at *Carfeoli*. When *Fabius* was the fifth Time, and *Decius Mus* the fourth Time
Consuls,

Consuls, the Year that *Pyrrhus* began his Reign, a Body of Men were carried to *Sinuessa* and *Minturna*; and 4 Years afterwards to *Venusia*. Two Years after that, when *M. Curius* and *Ruffinus Cornelius* were Consuls, the *Sabines* were made free of the City, but without Votes. This was 320 Years since; but *Cosa* and *Pestum* enjoyed the same Privileges 300 Years ago. When *Fabius Dorso*, and *Claudius Canina* were Consuls, a Colony was sent to *Ariminum* and *Beneventum*, and the *Sabines* had the Privilege of Voting granted them; 5 Years afterwards, in the Consulship of *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Cæcus* the Son, in the beginning of the first *Punic War*, *Firmum* and *Castrum* were planted, and a Year afterwards *Æsernia*; 22 Years after that *Æsulum*, and *Alfium*; 2 Years afterwards *Fregellæ*; the next Year, when *Torquatus* and *Sempronius* were Consuls, *Brundisium*; and three Years after that *Spoletium*; the same Year in which the *Floral Games* were instituted; 2 Years after *Valentia* was planted, and upon *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, *Cremona* and *Placentia*.

C H A P. XV.

A Catalogue of such other Colonies that were planted between the Time of Hannibal's coming to Rome, and the 6th Consulship of Caius Marius.

THE Romans had not Leisure to erect Colonies whilst *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, nor some Years after his Retreat thence; for they were under a greater Necessity of levying Soldiers than discharging them: And after the War, they had more need to recruit and refresh, than dismiss their Forces. When *Cn. Manlius Volso*, and *Fulvius Nobilior* were Consuls, *Bononia* was planted about 217 Years since; 4 Years after, *Pisaurum* and *Potentia*; 3 Years after that, *Aquileia* and *Gravisca*; and within 4 Years, *Luca*. 'Twas near this Time, (tho' some dispute it) that Colonies were sent to *Puteoli*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*. *Auximum* in *Picenum* was planted 187 Years ago, 3 Years before *Cassius* the Censor began to build a Theatre between the *Lupercal* and Mount *Palatine*. The Austerity of the City, and the Consul *Scipio*, joined to demolish it, which I reckon as a most noble Instance of the Zeal and publick Spirit of those Times. *Cassius* and *Sextius Calvinus*,

Calvinus (who conquered the *Sallues* at the *Waters*, which from him were called *Sextian*) being Consuls, a Colony was settled at *Fabrateria*, 157 Years ago; a Year afterwards *Scylacium*, *Minervium*, *Tarentum*, *Neptunia*, and *Carthage* in *Afric* (the first, which was without *Italy*) were planted. There's no certain Account concerning *Dertona*. *Narbo Martius* in *Gaul*, was erected in the Consulship of *Portius* and *Manlius*, 153 Years since. Twenty three Years after that, *Eporadia* among the *Vangienni* was founded, when *Marius* (the sixth Time) and *Valerius Flaccus* were Consuls. I can't find that any, except Military Colonies, were planted since that Time.

CHAP. XVI.

An Account of several great and learned Men that flourished in Greece about the same Time; the most renowned in Tragedy, Comedy, Philosophy, Oratory, &c.

ALTHO' this Account has already exceeded the design'd Limits of this Treatise; and tho' as I go on, I am hurried without Rest, like one falling from

a Precipice, from one Subject to another, so that it may seem more necessary to omit some Things of Moment, than to relate others that may appear more frivolous ; yet I cannot refrain from delivering an Observation I have often made, and never could clearly account for. It seems surprizing to me, that the most exalted *Genius's* of every Profession have flourished and exerted themselves within a very short Period of Time one of another. And as the various Species of Animals are still distinguish'd, tho' shut together and confin'd to a very narrow Coop : So the illustrious Authors of every excellent Performance, living about the same Time, have distinguished themselves from the rest of the World by the same noble Performances. 'Twas one Age, nay a small Number of Years, which were enrich'd by the Tragedies of the divine *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. One Age produced the ancient and perfect Comedy of *Cratinus*, *Aristophanes*, and *Eupolis*. The new comic *Vein* was struck by *Menander* ; *Philemon* and *Diphlius* were his Equals in Time, rather than Exactness of Writing, who invented and brought to Perfection in a very short Time, that
which

which could never since be imitated. The Learning of the Philosophers, * (whom we lately mention'd) which stream'd from its Founder, the great *Socrates*, how short a Space did it survive the Death of *Plato* and *Aristotle*? What can we find worth our Praise before *Isocrates*? And after the Death of his Scholars, and their Disciples, what remains deserving our Notice in Oratory? Thus we see they were confined within narrow Limits of Time, and the Memory of them all is obscure, but those who had conversed with, or at least had seen one another.

C H A P. XVII.

A Catalogue of several Learned Romans, that all flourish'd about the same Age: Some Reasons offer'd why so many eminent Men appear'd at once in the World.

THIS Observation holds good among the *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. For unless we take in the most rude and barbarous Performances, we shall be

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* The Place where they are mention'd is lost, since there's no Account of them in what goes before.

forced to ascribe the Invention and Perfection in Tragedy, to *Accius*, and the Times he lived in. The elegant Turns of Wit in the *Latin* Tongue, broke out in the same Age, in *Cacilius*, *Terence*, and *Afranius*. The Historians (if you add *Livy* to those who went before him) except *Cato* and some other obscure Authors, all flourish'd within the Compass of Eighty Years. The greatest of our Poets too wrote within the same Compass of Time. But Oratory, and the Practice of the Bar, (laying aside the same *Cato*, and, I must beg leave not to mention *P. Crassus*, *Scipio*, the *Laelii* and *Gracchi*, *Fannius* and *Servius Galba*) broke out at once in its brightest Glory in *Tully*, the Prince of Eloquence : so that you meet with very few who went before him, that could please, but you can admire none but those who lived in his Age. The same has happened in Grammar, Statuary, Painting and Engraving : If you enquire into the Accounts of Things, you'll find that every Art had but a small Compass of Time to flourish in. When I consider the Causes why the Genius's of this and the preceding Ages, interested themselves entirely in the Promotion of

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a particular Study ; I meet with some Reasons for it, but such as very seldom put an End to my Enquiry. Emulation quickens our Endeavours, sometimes we are spur'd on by Envy, sometimes by a generous Opinion of the Excellence of a Work. 'Tis necessary for us with the utmost Application to endeavour to be Excellent, which when we have arriv'd to, we can seldom long maintain, it being evident in Nature, when Things attain their highest Perfection, from the Moment they decay.

As we are incens'd to overtake those before us, so when we despair of our Designs, and can neither outdo, nor come up to them, our Vigour languishes with our Hopes ; what we cannot conquer, is no longer the End of our Pursuit. We resign the Quest we were upon, and look out for a new One. When we have forsaken that which we can't excell in, we seek for somewhat that may give greater Encouragements to our Endeavours. Thus this changeable Unsteadiness of our Endeavours, becomes the greatest Obstacle to Perfection in any Science.

C H A P. XVIII.

Athens commended, the only City of Greece famous for Learned Men, except Thebes, which produced the Immortal Pindar.

I Must now turn my Thoughts from a View of former Times, to the Account of Cities. The City of *Athens* alone was more esteem'd for Eloquence, and produced greater Numbers of Orators than all *Greece* beside ; so that tho' the Bodies of the Men were dispersed in other Countries, the Spirit and *Genius* of them seem'd to live within the Walls of *Athens* alone. 'Tis as strange, that no one Orator of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, or *Lacedemonians* was in any Esteem whilst he lived, or Veneration after his Decease. These, and a great many other Cities, were remarkable for not having produced any great Men, except *Thebes*, which was ennobled with the sublime *Genius* of *Pindar*. The *Laconians* falsely pretend, that *Alcman* is of their Country.

T H E



THE
Roman HISTORY
OF
Velleius Paterculus.

Inscribed to *M. Vinicius* the Consul.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Declension of the Roman Vertue after the Overthrow of Carthage. Servilius Cæpio put an end to the War begun by Viriatus : Pompeius and Mancinus are forc'd to submit to base Conditions of Peace with the Numantines.



THE First of the Scipio's extended the Power of Rome ; the Last of them introduced its Luxury : For when the Fear of Carthage was removed, and the Rival of the Roman Grandeur

dear destroyed, she rushed into Vice, not by a gradual Declension, but by a violent Degeneracy from Virtue. The ancient Discipline was neglected, and a new Form was introduced. The City was instantly betrayed from Industry to Sloth, from Ambition in Arms, to love of Pleasure; from Labour and Business, to Ease and Effeminacy. 'Twas at this time that *Scipio Nasica* built the Galleries in the Capitol; that *Metellus* erected those I have already mentioned; and *Cn. Octavius* added others, which bear his Name, and far exceed the rest in Beauty. And this publick Magnificence was attended with private Luxury. A dangerous and ignominious War then ensued with *Spain*, under the Command of *Viriathus*, the Leader of the Robbers. 'Twas carried on with very dubious Success, so that the *Romans* had very often the Disadvantage in the Field. But *Viriathus* their General being killed, rather by the Treachery than Valour of *Servilius Cæpio*; that of *Numantia* broke out with greater Fury. This City could never send more than 10000 Men into the Field; but (whether it happened from the rigid Obstinacy of their Temper, the Unexpe-

Unexperience of our Generals, or the Indulgence of Fortune) they obliged many of our Commanders, especially *Pompey*, a Man of great Reputation (the first of that Family who had been Consul) and *Mancinus Hostilius*, who was then in that Office, to comply with very dishonourable Conditions. 'Twas Interest that secured *Pompey* from Punishment; *Mancinus's* Submission procured his Pardon. His servile Concession to every Thing had this Effect, that he was delivered to the Enemy by the Heralds, with his Hands bound behind him. They refused to receive him, giving them the same Answer, which the *Caudini* had done once before; that a Violation of the publick Faith would not be atton'd by the Effusion of the Blood of a single Person.

C H A P. II.

A Sedition rais'd in Rome by Tiberius Gracchus, upon the delivering up Mancinus to the Enemy: His Character and Actions.

THIS surrendring of *Mancinus* occasioned a terrible Commotion in the City. *Tib. Gracchus*, Son to the famous

mous *Tib. Gracchus*, fourth Grandson to *Africanus* by his Daughter, when he was Quæstor, was the chief Instrument in signing that Treaty. He was very uneasy, that any Act in his Administration should be abrogated, and perhaps under some Apprehension of falling under the same Sentence. He was now elected Tribune of the People, and was certainly a Man of the greatest Integrity, of a generous Temper of Mind, and a resolute Justice in all his Undertakings: In short, he was adorned with all the Accomplishments which perfect humane Life. But when *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *L. Calpurnius* were Consuls, 162 Years since, he began to recede from Virtue; promised Freedom of the City to all *Italy*; published Laws for the Distribution of Lands; disturbed the Affairs of particular Persons, confounded the State, and reduced every thing to the last Extremity of Danger: He displaced his Colleague *Octavius* from his Office, and constituted himself, his Father-in-Law *Appius* of the Consular Order, and his Brother *Gracchus*, who was scarce of Age then, to take Care of the Division of the Lands, and planting of Colonies.

C H A P. III.

The Ruin of Gracchus, by the Valour and Resolution of Scipio Nasica : His Death ; the first that fell in Rome in any civil Contention.

P. *Scipio Nasica*, Grandson to him who was declared the *Best Man in the City* by the Senate, Son to the *Censor* who built the Galleries in the Capitol, Great Grandchild to the illustrious *Cn. Scipio*, who was Uncle to *P. Africanus* ; being a private Man, and one of the Gown, tho' he was Cousin-German to *Tib. Gracchus*, preferred the Interest of his Country to any Alliance in Blood ; and thought that could never consist with his private Advantage, which opposed the Good of the Commonwealth : (This worthy Opinion had before acquired him the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, tho' absent) who throwing the Skirt of his Gown over his Left Arm, standing on the Steps of the Capitol, desired those who wished the Prosperity of the State, to follow him. The Nobility, Senate, most of the Equestrian Order, and many of the People who were not infected by pernicious In-

sinuations against the Government, assaulted *Gracchus* as he stood in the *Area* with his Forces, labouring to draw together a Concourse from all Parts of *Italy* in his Defence. He endeavoured his Escape over the Precipice at the Capitol, but was struck in his Flight by a Piece of a Bench. Thus he ended his Life, which might have been with Honour, by an untimely Death. This was the beginning of the Effusion of Blood in *Rome* in any civil Contention; the first Time that open Violence was carried on without Punishment. Hence Force prevailed over Equity: The most powerful was now accounted the most deserving: The Suits of the Citizens, which were used to be reconciled by Mediation, are now determined by the Sword. Wars are no longer prepared for honourable Causes, but are reckoned a Part of the Trade of the Nation. This is not to be wondered at, for Example never rests there where it had its Original; tho' at first it flows in a narrow Channel, it *soon breaks out and spreads* it self abroad. When once it over-runs its Bounds, it becomes a lawless Stream. And no one thinks that dishonourable in himself, which has been advantageous to another. CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

The Overthrow of Aristonicus, by Marcus Perperna. Publius Scipio retrieves the Roman Glory in Spain, by the entire Subversion of Numantia. His Character and Death.

WHILE Affairs are carried on thus in the City, *Aristonicus*, upon the Death of King *Attalus*, who had resigned the Inheritance of *Asia* to the People of *Rome*, (as *Nicomedes* did afterwards that of *Bithynia*) pretends himself of the Royal Line, and enters upon the Kingdom by Force of Arms. He was subdued by *M. Perperna*, and carried in Triumph. *M. Aquilius* suffered the loss of his Life for the Murther of *Mucianus Crassus*, a Man of great Experience in the Law, upon his Journey out of *Asia* in the Quality of Proconsul. *P. Scipio Æmilianus*, who had rased *Carthage*, after we had received so many Defeats about *Numantia*, was chosen Consul, and sent into *Spain*, (where he answered the Reputation of his Valour in *Afric*) and within a Year and three Months after his Arrival, surrounded *Numantia* with Batteries,

teries, and rased it to the Ground. Never did any Man leave so great a Character behind him, for the Overthrow of so many famous Cities ; for by the Destruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, he retrieved us from the Fear of the first, and the Indignities we often received from the latter. When he was asked by the Tribune *Carbo* his Opinion of the Death of *Gracchus*, he answered, that *he was justly killed, if he aimed at the Government of the State.* And when the Senate rung with his Applause, *Do you think that I (said he) who so often have been unmoved with the Alarms of an armed Enemy, am at all surpris'd with your Shouts, to whom Italy is a Step-Mother.* He returned to the City, when *M. Aquilius*, and *C. Sempronius* were Consuls. After he had twice overthrown the Terrors of his Country, had been twice Consul, and had been honoured with two Triumphs, he was found dead upon his Couch in the Morning. There were great Reasons to suspect that he was strangled, from some Marks that were left upon his Neck. The Death of this great Man was not at all disputed ; his Body was carried to the Funeral with a Veil over his Head : Tho' he was the Instrument

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Instrument of his Countries Sovereignty over all the World. Whether he died by the Course of Nature, or as some think by the Treachery of his Enemies ; his Life was certainly the most honourable, and was excell'd by none in that Age, except you'll prefer the Dignity of his Grandfather to his. He died in the 56th Year of his Age, as will appear, if you look back to his first Consulship, which was conferred upon him in the 36th Year of his Age.

C H A P. V.

Aulus Brutus's Conduct and Successes in Spain. *A severe Command of his, the Occasion of a signal Victory at Contrebia.*

BEfore the Destruction of *Numantia*, there was a very remarkable War carried on in *Spain*, under the Conduct of *A. Brutus*. He penetrated into the inmost Parts of the Country, subdued a great Number of Forces and Cities, and marched into Nations scarce heard of before. These Services purchased him the Title of *Gallæus*. Some Years before this were noted for the vigorous Disci-

pline of *Q. Macedonicus* in those Parts. He besieged the City *Contrebia* in *Spain*; five Cohorts of his Legions were repulsed from a Breach; he ordered them to attack it again: They made their Wills as they stood in the Ranks, thinking that they should meet with certain Death. The General repeated his Orders, and the Soldiers returned in Triumph when they thought they marched to die. Such is the Force of Shame, supported by Fear, and of Hope springing from Despair. He became very famous for the Rigour of his Commands; as did *Fabius Æmilianus* for the Regularity of his Discipline in *Spain*.

C H A P. VI.

A dangerous Sedition raised by Caius Gracchus, Brother to Tiberius. His Character and Overthrow by Opimius.

ABout ten Years after this, the same Fury which had possessed *Tiberius*, incited his Brother *Caius Gracchus* to the same Extravagance. He imitated him in all his Virtues, as well as this fatal Error of his Life, and excelled him in the Accomplishment of Eloquence and Knowledge.

ledge. He might have been the greatest Man in the City, with the utmost Security ; but whether through a Desire of revenging the Death of his Brother, or of establishing a Sovereign Power, when he was invested in the Tribuneship, he pursued the same Measures which his Brother did, with a greater Vehemence ; gave the Freedom of the City to all *Italy*, extended its Privileges as far as the *Alps*, made a Partition of Lands, forbade any Citizen to have more than 500 Acres, (which was before enacted by the *Licinian Law*) imposed new Customs upon the Merchants, sent new Colonies into all Countries, transferred the Determination of Causes from the Senate to the Equestrian Order, commanded Corn to be disposed to the People ; in short, he left nothing in a calm or quiet Condition, and continued himself in his Office another Year. *M. Opimius* the Consul, who had destroyed *Fregellæ*, opposed him and *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Man who had triumphed, and been Consul, but now pursued the same exorbitant Courses with *Gracchus*, who had substituted him one of the *Triumviri*, in the Place of his Brother *Tiberius*, and named him his Colleague

league in the Sovereignty. 'Twas very dishonourable in *Opimius* to propose a Reward in Money for the Life of *Gracchus*, or indeed of any Citizen of *Rome*. *Flaccus*, and his eldest Son were slain as they were mustering their Forces upon Mount *Aventine* ; *Gracchus* being almost overtaken in his Flight, by some that *Opimius* had detached for that Purpose, offered his Life to his Servant *Euporus* ; who as readily slew himself, as he relieved his Master. The Fidelity of *Pomponius*, a Roman Knight, to *Gracchus*, was very remarkable : He defended a Bridge against his Enemies (like *Cocles*) as long as he could, and then fell upon his own Sword. The Body of *Caius*, as his Brother *Tiberius*'s had been before, was by the Cruelty of the Conquerors thrown into the *Tiber*.

C H A P. VII.

A horrible Example of Cruelty in Opimius, in sacrificing a beautiful Youth of the Family of the Gracchi, who came to offer Conditions of Peace : The Barbarity condemn'd by his own Party, and remembered by the People at his own Death.

THIS is the Account of the Life and Death of the Sons of *Tib. Gracchus*, and Grandsons of *P. Scipio Africanus*, their Mother *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Africanus*, being still alive. They perverted the greatest Abilities of Mind to a very wrong Use. Had they confined their Ambition to any reasonable Desire of Command, the State would have offered them what they pursued by Tumult and Rebellion. This severe Persecution was attended by one very remarkable Instance of Barbarity : A very fine young Gentleman, Son to *Fulvius Flaccus*, who was not at all concerned in his Father's Crimes, and was not above 18 Years of Age, was sent to propose some Conditions of a Reconciliation, and killed by *Opimius* : A *Tuscan* Southfayer, his Friend, seeing him carried to his

his Execution in Irons, and very sorrowful, Why (*said he*) don't you rather do thus? And instantly rushed his Head against a Stone-Pillar, at the Prison-Gate, and dashing out his Brains, expired. After this, a very rigorous Inquisition was made among the Friends and Acquaintance of the *Gracchi*; which incensed the Hatred of the People to so high a Degree, that *Opimius*, (tho' otherwise a Man of great Honour and Dignity) when he was condemned by a publick Sentence, the Memory of his Cruelty suppressed that Compassion which usually attends the Unfortunate. The Envy of the People subjected *Rutilius* and *Popilius*, (who express the greatest Severity to the Friends of the *Gracchi*) to the same Calamity. I must beg leave to mention a Particular, which does hardly relate to any Circumstance I am now speaking of. This is that *Opimius* whose Consulship gave a Name to the *Opimian Wine*. There can be none left among us, as appears from the great Distance of Time; since it is 151 Years (Great Sir) from his Consulship to yours. This Action of *Opimius* had the less Authority, since he prosecuted a particular Resentment; and his Revenge

venge seemed to be heightned by a private Animosity, rather than an honourable Concern for the publick Security.

C H A P. VIII.

A Colony planted at Narbo Martius. Caius Cato condemned of Extortion for a very small Sum. The two Metelli Triumph in one Day, as does Minutius over the Scordisci.

SOON after, in the Consulship of *Porcius* and *Marcus*, the Colony of *Narbo Martius* was founded. I shall lay down an Instance of the great Severity used in the Sentences of Judgment in those Times. *C. Cato*, of the Consular Dignity, Grandson to *M. Cato*, and the Son of *Africanus's* Sister, was condemned of Bribery in *Macedonia*, tho' he could be charged with no more than 4000 Sesterces. They had a regard to the Intention of the Criminal, more than the Nature of the Crime, weighing what was committed, with the Design of the Malefactor; and considered the Enormity of the Fault, more than the Degrees of it. About that Time the two *Metelli* Tri-

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umphed in the same Day. 'Tis as memorable, and I think the only Example of that Kind, that the Sons of *Fulvius Flaccus*, the same who had taken *Capua*, were together in the Office of Consuls, tho' one of them had been adopted into the Family of *Accidianus Manlius*. The *Metelli*, who were Censors, were Cousin Germans, not Brothers; that Honour has fallen to none but the *Scipio's*. Then did the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* pass over the *Rhine*: They were afterwards famous for several Losses and Overthrows, both of the *Romans* and themselves. This Time was remarkable for the splendid Triumph of *Minucius* over the *Scordisci*, who erected the Galleries which remain in great Esteem to this Day.

C H A P. IX.

A Catalogue of the Romans that flourished about this Time, famous for their Excellence in Poetry, History, Oratory, &c.

IN the same Age lived the celebrated Orators, *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Lælius*, *Ser. Galba*, the two *Gracchi*, *C. Fannius*, and *Carbo Papirius*. I must not pass by
Metellus

Metellus Numidicus and *Scaurus*; and those who excelled the rest, *Crassus* and *M. Antonius*. They were succeeded in Time as well as Eloquence, by *C. Caesar Strabo*, and *P. Sulpicius*. *Q. Mucius* was more remarkable for his Understanding in the Laws, than any great Talent he had in Oratory. The same Times were noted for the great *Genius's* of *Afranius* in Comedy; *Pacuvius* and *Accius* in Tragedy; which latter raised those Arts to a Rivalship with the Performances of the *Grecians*, who received his Works with Honour, and pay'd them the same Esteem they did to those of their own Nation; so that it appeared They indeed wrote with greater Exactness, but He with the greatest Fire. The Name of *Lucilius* too, who served as a Knight in the *Numantine* War, under *P. Africanus*, began to be in great Repute. *Marius* and *Jugurtha* were now very young, when they learned the Military Art in the same Camp as Friends, which they were afterwards to exert as the greatest Enemies. *Sisenna* the Historian was now very young: He wrote the Civil Wars of *Sulla*, several Years after. *Calpurnius* was of greater Antiquity than *Sisenna*.

na; *Rutilius*, *Claudius Quadrigarius* and *Valerius Antias* were his Contemporaries. I must take notice that *Pomponius* lived about that Time; he was a Man of great Sense, but barbarous Expression, remarkable for being the first Author of that sort of Writing.

C H A P. X.

The Severity of the Censors against Lepidus Ælius for his Extravagancy in the Rent of his House. The Victory of Domitius over the Arverni, and of Fabius over the Allobroges.

I Must take notice of a very rigorous Proceeding in the Censors *Cassius Longinus*, and *Cæpio*, who about 157 Years ago, called *Lepidus Ælius* the *Augur* to an Account for hiring an House of 6000 *Asses* yearly Rent. Whereas now, were a Senator to live in one of no higher Value, he wou'd be thought a Disgrace to his Order. So soon do we deviate from what's strict Virtue into Vice, from thence we decline into what's dishonourable, and from thence sink into Degeneracy. In the same Age were remarkable the

the noble Victories of *Domitius* over the *Arverni*, and *Fabius* over the *Allobroges*: *Fabius* was Grandson to *Paullus*, and fir-named *Allobrogicus* from his Conquest. I must observe the particular good Fortune of the Family of the *Domitii*, tho' it was confined to a very small Number of Persons. Before this honourable young Gentleman, *Cn. Domitius*, there were four Sons of that Name, of different Parents; all of them arrived to the Consulship, or Priesthood, and most of them were honoured with a Triumph.

C H A P. XI.

The Jugurthine War begun by Metellus, and ended by Caius Marius. His Character. Twelve of the Family of the Metelli in twenty two Years are Consuls, or Triumph.

THE War against *Jugurtha* was managed by *Q. Metellus*, one of the most excellent Men in his Time: *C. Marius*, whom we have spoken of before, was his Lieutenant, a Man rigid and austere, but of great Integrity of Life. His great Character in War, was obscured by his being a Stranger to the Arts of Peace:

He was ambitious of Honour, insatiable, had no Command over his Passions, but was always restless and unsettled. He accused the Slowness of *Metellus*, who had now drawn on the War for three Years, and charged him with the natural Pride of Greatness, which desires nothing more than Continuance in Authority. These were his Expressions to the Officers of the Customs, and Merchants in *Afric*, and by these Means, when he came to *Rome* for Provisions, he obtained the Consulship, and the Command of the War, which *Metellus* had almost brought to an end ; for he had twice defeated the Forces of *Jugurtha* in the Field. However, *Metellus* had the Honour of a Triumph as great as his Deserts, and was surnamed *Numidicus*. I must observe the Fortune of the *Cecilian* Family, as I lately have done of that of the *Domitii*. For in the Space of about 22 Years, 12 of the *Metelli* were Consuls, Censors, or triumphed. Thus we see, that not only Cities and Kingdoms, but Families have their different Period, to flourish, to decay, and at last to expire.

C H A P. XII.

Jugurtha delivered by Bocchus to Marius, and led in Triumph thro' Rome : Marius overcomes the Teutones, and in two Days kills 150000. In a second Engagement with the Enemy, kills 100000 more, and extirpates the whole Nation.

L. Sulla was then Colleague with Marius in the Questorship, as if the Fates had already begun to bring about their Designs. Marius, by employing him at the Court of King Bocchus, became Master of *Jugurtha*, 138 Years since, and when he returned to the City, led him in Triumph on the Kalends of *January*, being the first Day of his second Consulship. A prodigious Number of the *German Nations*, which were called *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, had discharged themselves into the Empire, (as I have related). They had overthrown the Consuls *Capio* and *Manlius*; and before that, had put *Carbo* and *Silanus* to Flight, driven them out of their Camp in *Gaul*, and had killed the Consuls *Scaurus* and *Aurelius*, and many other very eminent Men. The People of *Rome* thought no General so equal

equal to oppose this powerful Enemy as *Marius*. His Consulships were now repeated. The third of them was employed in Preparations for the War; which Year *Cn. Domitius*, Tribune of the People, enacted a Law, that the People should elect the Priests which had before been created by the College of that Order.

In the fourth he defeated the *Teutones* at *Aqua Sextia*, killed 150000 of the Enemy in the first and second Day of the Battle, and utterly destroyed the whole Nation. In his fifth Consulship, he and his Proconsul *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, had a very successful Engagement in the Plains of the *Raudii*, on this Side the *Alps*; in which were killed and taken Prisoners above 100000 Men. By this Victory *Marius* seems to have removed the Grief of his Country for having born him, and by his good Offices to have made amends for the Calamities he brought upon it. His sixth Consulship was conferred upon him as a Reward for his past Services. But least this should be deprived of its Glory, he suppressed the Fury of *Servilius Glaucia* and *Saturninus Apuleius* (who distracted the State, by continuing themselves in their Offices, and disturbed all publick

publick Assemblies with open Violence) by destroying these turbulent Men in the *Hostilian* Court.

C H A P. XIII.

Marcus Livius Drusus, *entring upon his Tribuneship, is opposed by the Senate in those very Particulars he designed for their Honour and Advantage. His Character.*

A Few Years after this, *M. Livius Drusus*, a Man of the greatest Honour, Integrity, and Eloquence, one whose Fortune was always inferior to the great Endowments of his Mind, entered upon the Tribuneship. He endeavoured to restore the ancient Privileges to the Senate, and to transfer the Court of Judgment from the Equestrian, to that Order, (for the *Equites* were before invested with that Power by the Laws of the *Gracchi*, and erected their rigorous Authority against many of the greatest and most honourable Men ; particularly they impleaded *P. Rutilius*, who was certainly the best Man of that or any preceding Age, upon the Statute of Bribery, and condemned him, to the Universal Grief of the City.) But he

he was opposed by the Senate it self, in what he designed for their Advantage. They did not consider, that whatever he did for the Benefit of the People, might be understood as a Means to insinuate himself into their Favour, and obtaining for them some small Advantages, might induce them to part with the greater. But such was the Fortune of *Drusus*, that the Senate approved the Male-Administration of his Colleagues, more than his own honest Intentions. They refused the Honours he proposed for them, but patiently submitted to the Indignities offer'd them by others. They envied his Glory, but seem'd pleas'd with the moderate Reputation of the rest.

C H A P. XIV.

Drusus, after his Endeavours to grant the Freedom of the City to all Italy, is stabb'd dead in the Court of his own House, to the Universal Grief of the Commonwealth.

*D**rusus*, when he saw that his good Designs could not succeed, altered his Mind, and proposed to grant the Freedom of *Rome* to all *Italy*. He had been
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upon that Affair in the *Forum*, and as he returned Home, under the Guard of a prodigious Multitude, which always attended him, he was thrust into the Side with a Knife, in the Entry of his House. The Knife was left in the Wound, and within a very few Hours he expired: Just as he breath'd his last, turning his Eyes to the Company about him, When (*said he*) my Friends and Acquaintance, will ye have a Citizen so well-affected to the Commonwealth as my Self? An Expression which answered the great Sincerity of his Mind. This was the End of this gallant Youth, and I must not omit an Instance of the generous Freedom of his Actions. He was building the House in the *Palatium*, where *Cicero's* once stood, and soon after *Censorinus's*, which now belongs to *Statilius Sifenna*. The Workman promised him, that *he would make it so private, that no one shou'd be able to look into it, or see what was done within it.* Nay, says *Drusus*, I desire, if you can contrive it so, to build my House that every one may look into it, and see what I do.

C H A P. XV.

Carthage the first Colony established out of Italy : The Italian War commences on the Death of Dracus : Metellus banish'd by Saturninus the Tribune, but restored by the Interest of his Son.

TWas one of the most pernicious Proceedings in the *Gracchi*, that they planted Colonies farther than *Italy* : Our Ancestors, when they saw that *Carthage* grew more formidable than *Tyre*, *Massilia* than *Phocaa*, *Syracuse* than *Corinth*, *Cyzicum* and *Byzantium*, than *Miletus*, their original Countries, declined this Practice, and called the Citizens of *Rome* into *Italy*, to be registred. *Carthage* was the first Colony that was established beyond *Italy*. The Death of *Drusus* occasioned a dreadful War in *Italy*. It was first begun by the *Asculans*, who murdered the Prætor *Servius*, and *Fonteius* the Lieutenant. The *Marfi* immediately espoused the Cause, and then it spread throughout the Country, which took up Arms against the *Romans*. The Progress of this was as dreadful, as the Reasons for it were just. They demanded no more

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than the Privileges of that City, which they themselves defended; they alledged, that they furnished out a double Number of Horse and Foot in all their Expeditions; and therefore thought it barbarous, that they could not be admitted Members of the City, which themselves raised to that Grandeur which prompted 'em to look upon those of their own Nation and Descent, as Foreigners and Strangers. This War destroyed above 300000 of the *Italian* Youth. The most eminent Commanders on the part of the *Romans*, were *Cn. Pompey*, Father to him who was surnamed the Great, *C. Marius*, whom we have often mentioned, *L. Sulla* who had been Prætor the Year before, *Q. Metellus* the Son of *Macedonicus*, who deservedly acquired the Surname of *Pius*: His Father was expelled the City by *L. Saturninus*, Tribune of the People, because he would not take the Oaths to some of the Decrees he had enacted. But the Son restored him by his own filial Endeavours, with the Command of the Senate, and Concurrence of the whole Commonwealth. *Numidicus* his Triumphs and Dignities were not more illustrious than the Causes of his Expedition, his Exile, and honourable Return.

C H A P. XVI.

The Names of the chief Leaders in the Italian War. Several Battles fought with various Success. The War is ended with Advantage to the Romans.

THE chief Leaders on the Side of the *Italians*, were *Silo Poppædus*, *Herius Asinius*, *Insteius Cato*, *C. Pontidius*, *Telefinus Pontius*, *Marius Egnatius*, and *Papius Mutilius*. I must not obey so far my Modesty, as to detract any thing from the Glory of my own Family, since I shall relate nothing but Matter of Fact. The Memory of my Great Grandfather *Minatius Magius* of *Asculum*, (Grandson to *Decius Magius*, a very Loyal and Eminent Man, and chief of the *Campanians*) ought to be esteem'd for his Fidelity to the *Romans* in this War. He levied a Legion himself among the *Hirpini*, and assisted with it at the taking of *Herculanæum*, along with *T. Didius*, and at the Siege of *Pompeii*, and Surrender of *Cosa*, with *L. Sulla*. His Services have been taken Notice of by several, but particularly by *Q. Hortensius* in his Annals; and were very nobly rewarded by the People of

of Rome, who granted him the Freedom of the City, and chose two of his Sons Prætors, tho' he had after that Time Children born to him. The Fortune and Success of this War was so dubious, that in the Space of two Years, two of the Roman Consuls, *Rutilius*, and *Cato Porcius*, were slain by the Enemy. Our Armies were often overthrown, and the City obliged to go into Mourning, and to continue in that Habit for a long Time. They chose *Corfinium* for the Seat of their Empire, and called it *Italicum*. But we retrieved our Misfortunes by Degrees, by admitting those who had not taken Arms, or at least had quickly laid 'em down, into the Freedom of the City. Our ruinous and languishing Commonwealth was restored by *Pompey*, *Sylla*, and *Marius*.

C H A P. XVII.

The Freedom of the City granted to the Italians, the Refusal whereof before was the occasion of the War. Sylla chosen Consul.

THE *Italian War* was now suppressed on all Sides, except some Remains of it about *Nola*. (The Romans,
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when they had sheathed their Swords, being willing to grant the Freedom of their City to Men distressed and conquered, which they refused to do when they were in a flourishing Condition). The Consulship was now filled by *Q. Pompeius*, and *L. Cornelius Sulla*, a Man who merited the greatest Esteem before, and the highest Disgrace after his Victories. He was of a very noble Extraction, being the 6th from *Cornelius Rufinus*, one of the chief Commanders in the War against *Pyrrhus*. The Lustre of his Family had been interrupted for some Time : He carried himself as if he had not the least Design of being Consul : But when he had been distinguished in the *Italian War*, and before that, in his Lieutenantcy under *Marius* in *Gaul*, where he defeated the greatest Generals of the Enemy, his Success inspired him with Resolution, so that when he stood for the Consulship, there was scarce a Man who voted against him, tho' he was in the 49th Year of his Age when he obtained that Dignity.

C H A P. XVIII.

Sylla chosen General in the War against Mithridates. His Character and Actions. The Fidelity of the Rhodians, and Perfidiousness of the Mitylenians in the Asiatick War: Sulpicius's Character, and pernicious Practices in the Commonwealth.

AT that Time *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, one whom we must not pass by, but speak to with a strict Regard; a Man of the greatest Conduct and Valour, sometimes most fortunate, always most couragious; a General in the Council, a common Soldier in the Field, and an *Hannibal* in his Hatred to *Rome*; had over-ran *Asia* with his Arms, and dispersed Letters throughout the Country, proposing great Rewards for killing all the *Roman* Citizens in the same Day and Hour. At that Time the Courage of the *Rhodians* against *Mithridates*, and their Fidelity to the *Roman* swas very remarkable: The Inconstancy of the *Mitylenians* was a Foil, to set off the Lustre of the other's unshaken Loyalty, for they delivered *Man. Aquilius*, and several others, in Chains to *Mithri-*

dates. (However, their Liberties were afterwards restored to them by *Pompey*, for the sake of *Theophanes*.) He seemed to threaten *Italy* with a dreadful Power, when the Province of *Asia* fell by Lot to *Sulla*; who when he left the City, made an Halt about *Nola*, (for that Place very obstinately persevered in Hostilities, and was enclosed by the *Roman* Army, as if it repented the inviolable Fidelity it expressed to the *Romans* in the *Punic* War) and at that Time, *P. Sulpicius*, Tribune of the People, a Man of great Eloquence and Vigour, the most eminent of his Time for Interest and Alliances, and all the different Accomplishments of Wit and Understanding: When he had acquired a Reputation in the City, by a sincere and unprejudiced Generosity of Temper, as if he was weary of the Courses of Virtue and Integrity, and his honest Designs had been ill-rewarded, attached himself to *C. Marius*, who was then ambitious to seize upon all the Honours and Commands of the Commonwealth, tho' he had passed the Seventieth Year of his Age. He proposed a Law to the People, which should abrogate *Sulla's* Power, and recal him from his Government. Many
other

other seditious and detestable Orders he enacted, which could not be suffered in a free Commonwealth : He also murdered a Son of the Consul *Pompey*, who was Son-in-Law of *Sulla*, by the Retainers to his Faction.

C H A P. XIX.

Sylla returns from Nola to Rome, and expells the Marian Faction. The Danger Marius escapes at Minturnæ. Sulpicius's Death.

Sulla, upon this, unites his Forces, returns to the City, and possesses himself of it by Force of Arms. He turned the Twelve principal Authors of this pernicious Faction out of the City, (among whom was *Marius* and his Son, and *Sulpicius*,) and declared them Exiles by a Law which he passed. Some of his Horsemen met with *Sulpicius* in the Fenns near *Laurentum*, and killed him. The carrying his Head as an infamous Spectacle before the *Rostra*, seemed to be an Omen of the Proscription which soon ensued. *Marius*, when he had been six Times Consul, and was in the Seventieth

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Year

Year of his Age, was drawn out of the Marsh near *Marica* (whither he had fled for Shelter from the Cavalry of *Scylla*, which pursued him, and was sunk so deep in the Mire, that nothing could be seen of him but his Eyes and Nose) and was commanded to the Prison of *Minturnæ* by an Order of the *Duumviri*: A publick Executioner, a *German* by Nation, was sent to dispatch him with a Sword. This Fellow had been formerly taken Prisoner by the General in the *Cimbrian* War. When he knew that it was *Marius*, he discovered his Indignation at the Calamities of so great a Man, in a lamentable Sigh; lays down the Sword, and flies out of the Prison. The Citizens began to feel the same Compassion for the distressed *Marius*, which his Enemy had before shewn him: they furnished him with some Necessaries, provided him with some Cloaths, and set him Aboard-a-Ship. He met with his Son about the Island *Ænaria*; and then directed his Sail toward *Afric*, where he sustained a penurious Life, in a Cottage among the Ruins of *Carthage*; so that the Distresses of that once flourishing City, and this honourable Person,

son, might afford a mutual Consolation to the Calamities on either Side.

C H A P. XX.

*Pompey the Consul murdered by the Army :
 Cinna for his seditious Practices depos'd by
 the People from his Consulship. He recalls
 Marius and his Party from Banishment.*

THIS Year was the first in which the Hands of the Soldiers were stained with the Blood of a Roman Consul ; Pompey, Colleague with Sulla, was murdered in a Mutiny of the Army of Cn. Pompeius, the Pro-consul, which their General himself had been the Occasion of. The Conduct of Cinna was as extravagant as that of Marius or Sulpicius. The Freedom of the City was granted to all Italy : The new Citizens were to be disposed into eight Tribes, lest their Force and Number might overthrow the Dignity of the ancient Freemen ; and they who were invested in the Privileges, might grow more powerful than those who granted them. Cinna (on the contrary) promised that he would disperse them among the other Tribes ; and upon that Account had
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drawn together prodigious Multitudes into the City : But he was banished by the Interest of his Colleague, and some other of the Nobles ; and as he was upon his Journey towards *Campania*, he was turned out of the Consulship by the Command of the Senate, and *L. Cornelius Merula* substituted in his room. This Indignity was very worthy the Man who suffered it, tho' it ought not to serve for a precedent. Soon after, by means of corrupting the Centurions and Tribunes, and feeding the Soldiers with Hopes of a Donative, he was received by the Army which remained about *Nola*. When the Army had sworn Obedience to him, he retained the Consular Ensigns, and made a War upon his Country by the Assistance of the new Citizens, out of whom he had mustered above 300 Companies, and filled near 30 Legions. But still he wanted the Protection of Interest, and the Pretence of a good Cause ; and for that Purpose he recalled *Marius* and his Son, and those who suffered with them, from Banishment.

C H A P. XXI.

An Engagement between Cinna and Pompey, under the very Walls of Rome. Cinna enters Rome, and enacts a Law for recalling Marius from Banishment.

WHile Cinna prepares a War against his Country, Cn. Pompeius, Father of him who was surnamed the Great (who had done very eminent Services to the State, particularly in taking *Asculum*, near which City, tho' several Armies were dispersed into other Parts of the Country, 75000 Romans, and above 60000 of the *Italians* engaged in one Day) when he had lost all Hopes of continuing in the Consulship, carried himself *Neuter* to either Party, turned every Accident to his own private Advantage, and seemed to stand prepared for any Revolution, that he might join his Interest and Forces to whatsoever Side could give him the greatest Expectation of Power and Command; but at last he encountered Cinna in a bloody and obstinate Fight. The Issue of this Engagement, which was determined under the Walls, and in the Presence of the City of Rome, was unexpressibly calamitous

tous to the Actors and Beholders. After this, the Armies, as if they had not been sufficiently reduced by the Sword, were seized upon by a Pestilence, by which *Pompey* lost his Life. The Universal Joy for the Death of this Man, seemed to atone for the Loss of all the Citizens, who were destroyed either by the War, or the Infection. The People of *Rome* exerted the Detestation they always ow'd him when alive, upon his Body, when deceased. Whether there were two or three, or more Families of the *Pompey's*, 'tis certain that the first of that Name was *Q. Pompeius*, who was Consul with *Cn. Servilius*, 168 Years since. After many bloody Disputes on both Sides, *Cinna* and *Marius* enter'd the City. But first of all, *Cinna* enacted a Law for the Restoration of *Marius*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXII.

Marius's fatal Return to Rome. The first Proscription followed with the Death of the Consul Octavius, and the most eminent and illustrious Citizens of Rome.

THEN did C. *Marius* make his fatal Return into the City. Nothing could be more cruel than that Victory, but *Sulla's*, which ensued. Their Rage was not confined to Persons of inferior Condition, but Men of the highest Reputation and Dignity were destroyed by several Sorts of Punishments. Among them the Consul *Octavius*, a Man of the most peaceable Disposition of Mind, was put to Death by the Command of *Cinna*. *Merula*, who had abdicated the Consulship upon the Approach of *Cinna*, opened his Veins, and sprinkling the Altars with his Blood, resigned a Life which had deserved very honourably of his Country. He implored the Vengeance of those Gods upon *Cinna* and his Faction, whom (when he was *Flamen Dialis*) he had often invoked for the Prosperity of the State. *M. Antonius*, a Man of the highest Power, and of the first Repute

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for Eloquence in the City, was (by the Orders of *Cinna* and *Marius*) run through by the Swords of the Soldiers, tho' he had calm'd their Violence a considerable Time by the Force of his Oratory. *Q. Catulus*, a Man of the highest Esteem for his other Accomplishments, but particularly for the Glory he merited in the *Cimbrian* War, which he shared with *Marius*, shut himself up in a Room which had been newly Floored with Lime and Sand, and having a Fire made there to exhale the unwholesome Vapours with a greater Force, his Breath was stopt, so that he died rather according to the Desire, than the Manner his Enemies had designed. Thus every thing in the State was confus'd, tho' there was not yet one that durst give away the Goods of a *Roman* Citizen, or so much as desire them. But afterwards Avarice became a Motive to Cruelty, and the Degrees of Guilt were rated according to the Estate of the Criminal: Whoever was Rich, was consequently an Offender; every one was the Price of his own Danger, and nothing seem'd base which appeared to be advantageous.

C H A P. XXIII.

*Marius his seventh Consulship, and Death
Sylla his Conduct against Mithridates.
The Nobility fly to him in great Numbers
in Asia. He defeats the Enemies General,
and a great Part of his Army in
Greece. Obliges Mithridates to quit
Asia, and all other Roman Provinces he
had seized on.*

Cinna now entered upon his second Consulship, and *Marius*, to the Dishonour of all the former, entered upon his seventh, but died in the beginning of it : He was as dreadful to his Enemies in War, as his Countrymen in Peace : He alway hated Rest and Tranquillity. *Valerius Flaccus* was substituted in his room, who was Author of that dishonourable Law, that Creditors should be paid a fourth Part of their Debts ; but he received a Reward for that base Action within two Years. While *Cinna* bore the Sway in Italy, the greatest Part of the Nobility fled to *Sulla* in Achaia, and thence into Asia. *Sulla* carried on the War against *Mithridates's* Generals with such Success in *Boeotia* and *Macedonia*, that he made himself Master of Athens,

bestowed a prodigious Expence of Labour and Time upon the Fortifications near the *Picæan* Harbour, killed above 200000, and took almost as many Prisoners of the Enemy. They who charge the *Athenians* with a Revolt when *Sulla* besieged their City, are Strangers both to Truth and Antiquity : For their Fidelity to the *Romans* was so remarkable, that whatever was observed with the most solemn and inviolable Sincerity, was stiled by the *Romans* to be done with *Attic Faith*. But this unfortunate People was suppressed by the Arms of *Mithridates* ; they were kept under by their Enemies, and besieged by their Friends ; and tho' their Bodies were immured within the City, their Hearts and Affections were ever without the Walls. *Sulla* after this marched into *Asia*, and found *Mithridates* very submissive, and willing to embrace any Conditions. He imposed a great Mult upon him, and required him to resign a great Part of his Shipping : He obliged him to evacuate all the Provinces in *Asia* which he had invaded by Force, and to surrender all that he had taken Prisoners ; and when he had punished the Deserters
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and other Offenders, commanded him to confine himself within his Hereditary Kingdom of *Pontus*.

C H A P. XXIV.

Fimbria, his Bravery and Death. Lucilius the last Years Tribune, executed by Lanas. Sylla lands at Brundisium. The Death of Cinna.

C. *Flavius Fimbria*, who had been before *Sylla's* Arrival Captain of the Horse, and had put *Valerius Flaccus*, of a Consular Dignity, to Death, who procur'd himself to be stil'd General by the Army, for one happy Engagement in the Field, killed himself at *Sulla's* Approach. He was a Youth who vigorously executed what he basely design'd. In the same Year *P. Lanas*, Tribune of the People, threw *Sex. Lucilius*, who had been in that Office the Year before, down the *Tarpeian Rock*. He had appointed the Day for the Trial of his Colleagues, and when they fled to *Sulla* to avoid the Storm, he proclaimed them Traitors, and forbid them the Use of Fire and Water. *Sulla*, when he had composed the Affairs be-

yond Sea, and had the Honour to be the first *Roman* who received Ambassadors from the *Parthians* (some of them being *Magi*, having told him from particular Marks in his Body, that his Life and Memory should be Fortunate) in his Return to *Rome* ventured an Engagement with no more than 30000 Men, against 200000 of the Enemy. No part of the Conduct of *Sulla* is more eminent than that when the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna* prevailed in *Italy* for three Years, he neither dissembled his Preparations against them, nor neglected the other Affairs he had upon his Hands. He thought it proper to suppress the Enemy, before he revenged himself upon his Countrymen. When he had nothing to fear from Abroad, he thought he might easily subdue what opposed him at Home. Before the Return of *L. Sulla*, *Cinna* was killed in a Mutiny, which was raised in his own Army. He deserved to die by the Sentence of a Conqueror, rather than the Rage of the Soldiers. It may be said of him, that he undertook what no honest Man could justify, and atchieved what none but the most valiant could perform. He was rash in his Determinations, and vigorous in his
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his Executions. There was no Colleague substituted in the Office, so that Carbo was Consul by himself throughout that Year.

C H A P. XXV.

Sylla his Return into Italy. He meets and conquers, near Capua, Scipio and Norbanus the Consuls. His different Behaviour before and after Victory.

YOU would have thought that *Sulla* came into *Italy* with a Design to promote a Peace, rather than engage in a War; so regular was his March through *Calabria* and *Apulia* into *Campania*; such a Regard he had to the Preservation of the Cities, Villages, and Fruits of the Fields. He endeavoured to put an End to the War by fair and honourable Terms: But Peace could never be acceptable to Men of unrestrained and lawless Desires. His Army was encreased every Day by the Confluence of all that were honest, and in the Interest of their Country He overthrew the Consuls *Scipio* and *Norbanus*, in a fortunate Battle near *Capua*. *Norbanus* was slain in the Engagement,

Engagement, *Scipio* was abandoned and betrayed by his Army. But *Sulla* dismissed him without the least Hurt. So unequal was his Conduct as a Soldier, from what he was when a Conqueror. He was merciful to Excess in the Field, and cruel beyond Example after the Victory. For (as I said) he dismissed the Consul, and disarmed *Sertorius* (what an Incendiary of War did he afterwards prove!) and many others he discharged, without receiving any Damage, on purpose, I believe, to discover that the two most different Affections of the Mind, might distinguish themselves in the same Person. After the Victory, in his Descent from the Mountain *Tifata*, where he had fought with *Norbanus*, he addressed his Thanks to the Goddess *Diana*, who is Patroness of that Country, and consecrated the adjacent Fields, and the famous Baths thereabout, to that Deity. The Memory of that Religious Act is perpetuated to this Day, by an Inscription on one of the Posts of the Entrance, and a Brazen Plate within the Temple.

C H A P. XXVI.

Sylla' defeats Marius the Consul at Sacriportum ; besieges him in Præneste ; Murders in Rome committed by the Prætor Hostilius. The great and noble Death of Calphurnia.

CArbo was now the third Time Consul ; his Colleague was *C. Marius*, Son to him who had born the Office seven Times. He resembled his Father in the Disposition of his Mind, rather than the Number of Years he lived ; he made a great many noble Attempts, but being at last beaten by *Sulla*, in an Engagement near *Sacriportum*, he retired with his Forces into *Præneste*. And least any thing should be wanting to compleat the publick Calamities, they now rival'd one another in Villainy, in the same City where Virtue once inspired the Emulation, and every one valued his Merits by his Progress in Mischief. While the Armies were engaged at *Sacriportum*, *Damasippus* the Prætor put to Death in the *Curia Hostilia*, the High Priest *Scævola*, a Person eminent for divine and human Learning ; *C. Carbo*, who had been Prætor, and was
Brother

Brother to the *Consul*, and *Antistius*, who had been *Ædile*, under the Pretence of their being in the Interests of *Sulla*. The glorious Action of *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Bestia*, and Wife of *Antistius*, must not be forgotten. When her Husband was killed (as I mentioned) she run her self through with a Sword, a great Accession to her Honour and Reputation; her Vertue is still admired, tho' her Birth unknown.

C H A P. XXVII.

Pontius Telesinus his Bravery. He encounters Sylla's Army at the Gates of Rome, and puts his whole Force in Confusion: Marius despairing of Success, endeavours to make his Escape from Præneste, but is surpriz'd and slain.

P*ontius Telesinus*, General of the *Samnites*, a Man of the greatest Spirit and Obstinacy in War, and an irreconcilable Enemy to the Name of *Rome*, raised a' ove 40000 of the boldest Soldiers in his Country, and on the *Calends* of *November*, in the Consulship of *Carbo* and *Marius*, 111 Years ago, fought with *Sulla*
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at the *Colline* Gate, with such doubtful Success, that he reduced *Sulla* and the State, to the last Extremity of Danger. Its Condition was not more distressed when the Camp of *Hannibal* was within three Miles of the City, than that Day when *Telefinus* riding among his Troops, cried out, that the Glory of *Rome* was at an end, that the City must be destroyed, and that *Italy* would never be clear of Wolves, who would infest its Liberties, till the Place of their Rendezvous was extirpated. But about an Hour after Night, the Roman Army recovered its Spirit, and that of the Enemy gave Ground. *Telefinus* was found on the Morrow, just expiring; His Countenance appear'd more like a Conqueror's, than a Man's who was at the Point of Death. *Sulla* ordered his Head to be cut off and carried round *Præneste*. *Marius* now despairing to retrieve his Affairs, endeavoured to escape through some Passages under Ground (which were contrived with wonderful Art) and was killed by some dispatched for that Purpose, as he raised himself out of the Ground. Some say he died by his own Hand; others, that when he and his younger Brother *Telefinus* (who attempted
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to escape with him) found they could not break through the Enemy, which had enclosed them, they rushed one upon the other, and both of them fell together. But by whatsoever Means he died, his Memory is not at all obscured by the Splendor of his Father's Actions. That he was a great Terror to *Sulla*, is evident, since upon his Death he assumed the Title of *Happy*; a Name he had very well deserved, if his Life had ended with his Conquests. The Siege of *Praneste*, where *Marius* lay, was commanded by *Ofella Lucretius*, who was first of all in the Faction of *Marius*, but when he was Prætor, revolted to *Sulla*. The Fortune of that Day, in which the *Samnites* and the Army of *Telesinus* were overthrown, had the Honour to be celebrated in the *Circensian Games* which *Sulla* established, and are still observed in Memory of his Victory.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Several Battles successfully fought by Sylla's Captains. The second Proscription. The Miseries that attended it.

SOME time before the Battle of *Sylla* at *Sacriportum*, many great Men of his Party had overthrown the Enemy in divers Engagements; as the two *Servilii* at *Clusium*, *Metellus Pius* at *Faventia*, and *M. Lucullus* at *Fidentia*. The Calamities of a Civil War seemed now to be at an end, when they were enhanced by the Cruelty of *Sulla*. The Usurpation of the Honour of a *Dictator*, had now been intermitted for 120 Years, (for the last Election into that Office, was in the Year after *Hannibal* retired out of *Italy*) so that it appeared the *Romans* were not so fond of the Continuance of that Authority, but rather dreaded a Subjection to an absolute Power, which was never conferred upon particular Persons, but to enable them to retrieve the State out of the most imminent Dangers. *Sulla* was now advanced to this high Dignity, which he made use of both to prosecute and excuse his exorbitant Cruelty. He was

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the first (I could wish he had been the last) who found out the Precedent of *Proscription*, by virtue of which, in the same City, where the Law was open to a discarded Actor on the Stage, for any trifling Injury done to him ; a Reward was proposed for the Death of a Citizen ; he who had slain most was thought to merit the greatest Honours ; and the Price of the Head of an Enemy, was less than that of a common Citizen ; so that every Man's Estate was the Reward for those who deprived him of his Life. This Rage was not only levelled at such who had born Arms against *Sylla*, but extended to many who were innocent. It was declared, *that the Effects of those who were proscribed should be sold, that their Children should not only be excluded the Right of inheriting their Fathers Estates, but debarr'd the Privilege of standing for any Office in the Government ; and what was most detestable, that the Sons of the Senators should defray all the Expences of that Order, without enjoying any of its Immunities.*

C H A P. XXIX.

Cnæus Pompeius brings an Army to Sylla :
His Descent, and glorious Character.

AFTER Sulla's Arrival in Italy, Cn. Pompeius, (Son of him who distinguished himself so gallantly in his Consulship, at the Time of the *Marſian* War, as I have before related) being 23 Years of Age, about 113 Years ago, enterprized great Attempts upon the Foundation only of his private Estate and Abilities; and to atchieve his honourable Designs, in restoring his Country to its ancient Dignity, he raised a regular and well-disciplined Army out of the Country of the *Piceni*, which were for the greatest Part Retainers to his Father. To trace his Actions, and the Series of his glorious Exploits, would alone require the Measure of a Volume, which would exceed the design'd Compass of this Work. His Mother was *Lucilia*, of a *Senatorian* Family. He had a very agreeable Presence; not the fairest and most beautiful, but such as served to recommend his Constancy and Grandeur, and accompanied his Fortune even to his Death.

He was of great Innocence and Integrity of Life, and indifferently furnished with the Accomplishments of Eloquence. He was ambitious of those Honours that were given him by others, rather than of those that were seized on by himself: A compleat General in War, and an honest and temperate Citizen (except his Jealousy of having an Equal) in the Times of Peace. He was constant in his Friendships, and complying to all Intreaties: Faithful in reconciling Differences, and one who easily accepted Satisfaction for Injuries. He never perverted his Authority to protect any one that had acted unjustly; and in short, was scarcely tainted with any Vice, unless you'll reckon this one, that in a Free City, which had the Command of all Nations, and where all the Members had the same Privileges, He could not bear any one to rival him in his Honours. He had so improved his great Understanding in the Arts of War, in the Camp of his Father, a noble General, that tho' *Sertorius* gave the greatest Commendation to *Metellus*, 'tis certain that *Pompey* was much more formidable to him.

C H A P. XXX.

Perpenna betray'd, and slain by Sertorius. Metellus and Pompey triumph for their Victories in Spain. The War with the Slaves, and Spartacus their Leader, which Marcus put an end to.

M. *Perpenna*, of the Prætorian Quality, and of the Number of the proscrib'd, of a far more noble Descent than Disposition of Mind, slew *Sertorius* when he was at Supper in *Etoſca*. Thus he purchased a Victory to the *Romans*, a Defeat to his own Party, and a dishonourable Death to himself, by an egregious Villany. *Metellus* and *Pompey* triumphed for the Conquests of both *Spains*; *Pompey*, tho' he was then no more than a *Roman Knight*, made his Entry into the City in a triumphal Chariot, the Day before he began his Consulship. How astonishing is it, that this Man, tho' he had arrived to the greatest Dignity in the State, by a successive Gradation through the highest Honours, resented the Favour which the Senate and People of *Rome* shewed *C. Cæsar*, when he stood to be his Colleague in the Consulship! So natural is it for

Men to overlook their own Failings, and pardon none in others, to level their Resentments against Persons, rather than any real Cause which they find for their Distaste. In this Consulship, *Pompey* restored the Power of the Tribunes, which *Sulla* had reduced to an insignificant Form and Shadow only. While the *Sertorian* War is carried on in *Spain*, 514 Fugitives, who fled from the Company of Gladiators in *Capua*, and provided themselves there with Swords, first of all retired to Mount *Vesuvius*; and then, upon their Numbers being encreased, they sorely oppress'd *Italy* with Slaughter and Rapine. They grew at last able to oppose the *Romans* with 40000 Men. The Honour of their Defeat is owing to *M. Crassus*, who soon after came to be one of the most considerable Men among the *Romans*.

C H A P. XXXI.

A very ample Commission granted to Pompey to suppress the Pyrates then infesting the neighbouring Seas, tho' against the Inclination of the Nobility.

THE Reputation of *Pompey* had drawn the Eyes of the World upon him: He was every Day look'd upon with a greater Regard. When he was Consul, he very generously took an Oath, that he would not accept the Government of any Province, after the Expiration of his Office. *A. Gabinius* the Tribune, enacted a Law, That whereas the Empire was infested with Pirates, not by clandestine Expeditions, but formidable Navies, and that they had already ransacked some Cities of *Italy*, *Cn. Pompeius* should be detached to disperse them, and that he should have an equal Command with that of a Proconsul within 50 Miles of the Sea. Thus the sole Power of the whole Empire was committed to one particular Person, by a Decree of the Senate, tho' indeed the same had been done before in the Prætorship of *M. Antonius*. But it sometimes happens, that the very
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Person of a Man, as it infects by Example, so doth it incense or lessen the Envy of the World. Every one acquiesced in this Proceeding in *Antonius*; for People seldom repine at their Promotion who don't appear to be formidable: Whereas they are very uneasy, when a Power is lodged in the Hands of Men who seem resolved to retain or resign it at their own Pleasure, and make the Dictates of their own Mind the Measure of their Conduct. The Nobility opposed this Act, but their prudent Counsel was overpowered by Force.

C H A P. XXXII.

Pompey puts an end to the Pyrratical War with incredible Bravery and Conduct. Several Inland Colonies planted with those he had conquered.

THE Esteem and Modesty of *Q. Catulus* in this Affair, very well deserves our Notice. He alledged in a Speech against this Law, that *tho' Cn. Pompeius was a Man of extraordinary Merit, he thought it something exorbitant in a free State, to repose too much, or an entire Authority*

Authority in one Man. Suppose (he added) any Misfortune should befall him, whom could you elect to be his Successor? The Assembly unanimously replied, Your Self. Q. Catulus was overcome by this universal Applause, and when he had received this honourable Testimony from his Country, he withdrew from the Assembly. Here we may admire the Modesty of this Man, and the Justice of the People. His Modesty, in that he proceeded no farther; and their Justice, because they would not defraud him of the honest Testimony of their good Opinion, tho' he then opposed them. In this Juncture, Cotta divided the Administration of Judgment (which Gracchus had taken from the Senate, and seated in the Knights, and Sulla had again transferred from them to the Senate) between both those Orders; and Otho Roscius restored to the Knights their Places in the Theatre, by virtue of a Law which he enacted. Cn. Pompeius had taken the bravest Men that could be found with him to the War, and had dispersed Garrisons of his Fleet in all the convenient Harbours about the Seas; so that in a short Time he cleared the whole Empire of Pirates with his invincible

cible Forces. He had routed them in several Engagements before, but utterly overthrew and destroyed them in an Attack he made upon them with his whole Fleet, near *Cilicia*. And to put a final End to this War, which had spread itself into all Countries, he got together, and settled those few that surviv'd the last Battle, in several Inland Cities, remote from the Sea. Some took Distaste at this Proceeding, but tho' the Character of this great Man might justify any Action of his, yet the Reasonableness of the Action gave it a greater Authority: For when he put them in a Capacity of living without Robbery, he took from them the very Pretence of committing it.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Manlius enacts a Law, to commit the War with Mithridates, to Pompey. Lucullus his Character, and Exploits in Asia. A Comparison between Lucullus and Pompey.

THE War of the Pirates was drawing to its Conclusion, and *L. Lucullus*, who had the Province of *Asia*, after his

his Consulship, given to him, had done very considerable Services there, had defeated *Mithridates* in several Engagements, had raised the Siege of *Cyzicum* by a noble Victory, had overthrown the powerful King *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, and had reduced the War to that Issue, that he seemed rather to want a Will, than Power to put an End to it; a Man every way accomplished, and one who was invincible in War, but a Slave to the Love of Riches, did still continue his Command in *Asia*, until *Manlius*, Tribune of the People, (a mercenary Wretch, and a Slave to another's Ambition) enacted a Law, that the Management of the *Mithridatick* War should be committed to *Pompey*. The Law was passed, and occasioned an irreconcilable Difference between the two Generals. *Pompey* objected Avarice to *Lucullus*; *Lucullus* charged *Pompey* with his exorbitant Affectation of Command. The Accusations were just on both Sides; for *Pompey*, from his first Admission to the Government, could never bear an Equal, but desired the sole Enjoyment of all Dignities, to which he had indeed the best Title. Never did any one desire Glory more, and look upon every

every thing else with so slight a Regard as did *Pompey*. He was extravagantly ambitious of Promotion to Honours, and the most temperate Man in the World in the use of them. As he entered upon them with the greatest Cheerfulness, so he resign'd them with the highest Satisfaction. He assumed them for his own Pleasure, and was content to part with them at the Will of another. *Lucullus*, tho' otherwise a Man of very great Merit, was the first Instance of Luxury in Buildings and Entertainments. He was very wittily called the *Roman Xerxes*, by *Pompey the Great*, for his raising Mounds in the Sea, and opening Sluices through Mountains, for conveying the Sea into the Land.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Metellus conquers Crete, which is made a Province. The Temple of Janus a second Time shut. The dangerous Designs of Catiline laid open and suppress'd by Cicero.

AT that Time, the Island *Crete* was reduced into the Power of the *Romans* by *Q. Metellus*: It had infested the
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the Roman Army for three Years, having levied Four and twenty thousand Men of prodigious Swiftneſs, inur'd to the hardeſt Labours, and moſt excellent Archers, under the Command of their Generals, *Panares* and *Laſthenes*. *Cn. Pompeius* betrayed his Ambition in envying their Succeſſes, and endeavoured to obtain a Share in the Glory of this Victory. But the ſingular Valour of *Lucullus* and *Metellus* received an additional Reſpect from the Envy of *Pompey*, which recommended their Triumphs the more to the Favour of the People. About this Time, *M. Cicero*, one whoſe Promotion was owing entirely to himſelf, a Man very illuſtrious, tho' of an obſcure Birth, as famous for the Integrity of his Life, as the Brightneſs of his Wit and Underſtanding, retrieved us from the Scandal, that we who had ſubdued all Nations in War, ſhould be excelled by them in Eloquence and Learning. By his extraordinary Prudence, Conſtancy, Vigilance and Care, he defeated the Conſpiracy of *Sergius*, *Catiline*, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many others of both Orders. *Catiline* left the City, being afraid of the Power of the Conſul; *Lentulus* of the

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Conſular

Consular Dignity, and one who had been twice Prætor, with *Cethegus*, and many other eminent Men, were put to Death in Prison, by a Decree of the Senate, and the Direction of the Consul.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Character of Marcus Cato, and the great Honours pay'd him (tho' but a Youth) by the Senate : The Conspirators adjudg'd to Death : Catiline's End.

THAT Day when this Decree passed in the Senate, was famous for the Virtue of *M. Cato*, which shined so brightly in every Circumstance : (He was Great Grandson to *M. Cato*, the first of the *Porcian* Family.) He was the very Image of Vertue it self, and seemed to resemble the Gods rather than Men in the divine Endowments of his Mind. He never did a glorious Action that it might appear so to the World, but because he could not forbear it ; to whom nothing ever seemed reasonable but what was just. He was unblemished by the Vices incident to Men, and always kept Fortune under his Command. He had been designed Tribune of the People, tho' very

very young. When most of the Senate proposed that *Lentulus*, and the rest of the Conspirators should be confined under Guard in some free Towns; he being asked his Opinion among the last, arraigned the Conspiracy with such an honest Vehemence of Mind, alledged that the Mildness of the Opinions which had been delivered, might be suspected to proceed from an Inclination to favour the Conspirators, shewed the inevitable Dangers that would accrue to the State, from their Attempts to fire the City, and Endeavours to subvert its Constitution: In short, he so magnified the Vertues of the Consul, that the Senate resolved into his Opinion, decreed the Punishment of the Criminals, and the greatest part of their Order attended upon *Cato* to his Home. *Catiline* now prosecuted his Villanies with the same Boldness he undertook them, and valiantly lost that Life in Battle, which he owed to the Sword of Justice.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Augustus Cæsar *born in the Consulship of Cicero. A Catalogue of several great Men in that Age, famous for Learning.*

Was no small Addition to the Glory of Cicero's Consulship, that the divine *Augustus*, whose Greatness was to diffuse a Shade over the Heroes of all Nations, was born in it, eighty two Years ago. It may not here seem improper to enumerate the most eminent *Genius's* for Learning in those Times. Who can be ignorant that *CICERO*, *Hortensius*, *Cras- sus*, *Cato*, and *Sulpicius* flourished about that Time, (tho' they were distinguished by a small Difference in their Age) and soon after, *Brutus*, *Calidius*, *Calius*, and *Calvus*; and *Cæsar*, who came nearest to *CICERO*. They were succeeded by their Pupils *Corvinus* and *Pollio Asinius*, and *Salust*, the Rival of *THUCYDIDES*. The Poets *Varro*, and *Lucretius*; and *Catullus*, inferior to none in the kind of Verse they wrote, came after them. It may appear trivial to enumerate the Authors we have every Day before us: The most remarkable of them in our Age, are the Prince
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of Poets *Virgil* and *Rabirius*; *Livy*, who succeeded *Salust* in History. *Tibullus* and *Naso*, the most exact in their sort of Writing. Those who are now living, as they are Objects of our Admiration, so it would be a sort of Presumption to pass any Censure upon them.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Pompey's War with Mithridates and Tigranes. Tigranes surrenders himself and his Estate into Pompey's Hands.

WHILE Affairs are in this Posture in *Italy*, Pompey carries on a successful War against *Mithridates*, who had reinforced his Army with great Numbers, after *Lucullus's* Retreat. But the King, when he had been defeated and overthrown, and lost all his Army, flies into *Armenia* to his Father-in-Law *Tigranes*, who was the most powerful Prince of that Age, before his Forces were weakened by *Lucullus*. Pompey pursues them both at once into *Armenia*: *Tigranes's* Son, who was then at Difference with his Father, came first over to Pompey, and soon after the Father followed him, and

presented his Kingdom to be disposed of at the Pleasure of the Conqueror; declaring to him, that *there was no Man of the Roman, or any other Nation, whose Alliance he would engage in beside Pompey: That any Turn of Fortune would be easy to him, if it were dispensed by his Commands: That 'twas no Dishonour to be subdued by one who was sacred against any such Calamity from others; and that any might submit to him without Disgrace, who was advanced by the Indulgence of Fortune above the rest of Mankind.* The King was continued in his Dignity, but fined an immense Sum of Money, (as it was alway the Custom of Pompey) which was transmitted to the *Quæstor*, and registred in the publick Accounts. *Syria* and other Provinces which had been under his Command, were taken from him; many others were restored to the *Romans*, and some newly subdued to their Power; *Syria* was one of them which was now first of all made Tributary to *Rome*.

C H A P. XXXVIII, XXXIX.

A List of all the Roman Provinces: The Time when, and the Persons by whom they were first conquered.

IT does not seem to contradict the Design of this Work, to give a short Account how every particular Country came to be formed into a Province, and under whose Command it was subdued and made Tributary, because they'll appear in a better Light under a general View, than if they were treated of apart. The Consul *Claudius* was the first who carried an Army into *Sicily*; 52 Years afterwards, *Marcellus Claudius*, when he had taken *Syracuse*, formed it into a Province. *Regulus* first of all entered *Afric*, in the 9th Year of the first *Punic War*; 204 Years after that, about 182 Years ago, *P. Scipio Æmilianus*, when he had destroyed *Carthage*, reduced it into a Province. *Sardinia* acknowledged the Sovereignty of *Rome*, between the first and second *Punic Wars*, by the Command of *T. Manlius* the Consul. 'Tis a great Instance of the Warlike Disposition of this City, that the Temple of *Janus Geminus* was never shut up

(as it always is in Times of Peace) but once under the Kings ; a second Time when this *Manlius* was Consul ; and last of all, in the Reign of the Emperor *Augustus*. *Cn.* and *P. Scipio*, were the first who marched an Army into *Spain* in the beginning of the second Punic War, about 250 Years ago. We sometimes added to our Conquests in that Country, and sometimes lost from them ; but the whole Nation was made Tributary under the Conduct of *Augustus*. *Paullus* subdued *Macedonia*, *Mummius*, *Achaia*, *Fulvius Nobilior*, *Aetolia* : *Asia* was recovered from *Antiochus* by *Scipio*, the Brother of *Africanus*, but it was afterwards, by the Indulgence and Favour of the Senate and People of *Rome*, committed to the Government of Kings of the Race of *Attalus* ; but at last it was made Tributary by *M. Perperna*, when he had made *Aristonicus* Prisoner. The Conquest of *Cyprus* can be ascribed to none, for it relapsed into a Province by an Order of the Senate, the Administration of *Cato*, and the Death of their King, which he procured to himself, from a Consciousness of some Villany he had committed. *Crete* did at last lose the Liberty which it had

so long enjoyed by the Conduct of *Metellus*. *Syria* and *Pontus* are Trophies of the Victories of *Cn. Pompeius*.

GAUL was first penetrated by the Roman Army, under *Domitius* and *Fabius*, Grandson to *Paullus*, who was called *Allobrogicus*; which afterwards we lost to our great Disadvantage. The Conduct of *Cæsar* in that Country is very illustrious; it was at last subdued by his extraordinary Valour, and now submits to the same servile Contributions with the rest of the vanquished World. He also reduced *Numidia*. *Isauricus* conquered *Cilicia*, as did *Vulso Manlius*, *Gallogrecia*. After the *Antiochian War*, *Bithynia* was left Hereditary to us by *Nicomedes*. The divine *Augustus* made *Ægypt* a Tributary Province, beside *Spain* and other Countries, whose Names are inscribed upon his *Forum*, and brought almost as much Money from thence into the publick Exchequer, as *Julius Cæsar* had done before him, from *Gaul*. *Tiberius* extorted the same Acknowledgment of Subjection from the *Illyrians* and *Dalmatians*, as his Father had obliged the *Spaniards* to. He added *Rhetia*, the *Vindelicians* and *Norici*,
Pannonia

Pannonia, and the *Scordisci*, with several other Provinces, to the Empire. These he subdued with his Arms, but he compelled *Cappadocia* to submit to a Tribute, by his bare Authority.

C H A P. XL.

Pompey's Conquest over several Nations in Asia. His peaceable Return to Rome: He triumphs.

NOW followed the Conduct of *Pompey*, which was attended with as great a Share of Danger as Glory. He victoriously made his March through *Media*, *Albania*, and *Iberia*, and then diverted his Forces towards the Nations which inhabit the Inlands of *Pontus*, the *Colchi*, *Heniochi* and *Archaans*. He had at last, by his own Valour, and the Treachery of *Pharnaces*, utterly reduced *Mithridates*, the last of Kings who enjoyed so large a Sovereignty, except the *Parthians*. *Pompey* having now vanquished all Nations that he opposed, and having advanced himself beyond his own, or indeed the Desires of his Country, when he had exceeded the utmost Measure of humane Fortune,

Fortune, returns into *Italy*. The Opinion which was generally entertained of him, rendered his Reception more advantageous ; for most expected he would not have made his Entry into the City but with an Army, nor left any other Judge of publick Liberty but his own private Will and Ambition: As this Jealousy prevailed, the peaceful Return of the General was more admired. He dismissed his Army at *Brundisium*, retaining only the Title of a General, and entered the City with no more than the private Attendants he usually had with him, and was honoured with a magnificent Triumph, which continued two Days, over the Kings he had conquered. He brought more Money into the Treasury from his Spoils, than any General before him except *Paullus*. *T. Ampius*, and *T. Labienus* enacted a Law in his Absence, that he should wear a Crown of Laurel, and the other Ornaments of a Triumph at the *Circean Games* ; and that he should be adorned with Laurel, and the *Prætecta* at the Diversions of the Play-House. He assumed these Honours no more than once, tho' even that was more than was justifiable. Fortune had so far distinguish-
 ed

ed this great Man, that he triumphed first of all out of *Africa*, then from *Europe*, and last of all, from *Asia*; that he was honoured with as many Monuments of his Conquests as there were Parts of the World. But Greatness is never secured from Envy. *Lucullus* remembered the Indignities he had received; *Metellus Creticus* had a very just Occasion for Resentment, since *Pompey* made use of the Prisoners he had taken to adorn his own Triumph: A great Part of the Nobility joined with them, so that *Pompey* could not grant what he had promised to the City, or reward those who had recommended themselves to him by their Merit, at his own Pleasure.

C H A P. XLI.

The Consulship of Caius Caesar, his Character and Descent.

THE Consulship of *C. Caesar* ensued; he arrests the Historian's Speed, and forces me to stop a while, to take a View of him. He was descended from the illustrious Family of the *Julij*, which according to the Accounts of Antiquity, had

had its Origin from *Anchises* and *Venus*. His Presence was the most agreeable of any Citizen's in *Rome*, he had great Vivacity of Understanding, and a Soul full of Munificence ; in Greatness of Mind superior to all others, and even exceeding human Belief. The Vastness of his Designs, his Expedition in War, and Resolution in Danger, made him equal to *Alexander the Great*, when he was not inflamed with Wine and Passion : For he always made use of the Necessities of Food and Sleep, as they tended to the Preservation of Life, not as they administered Pleasure to the Senses. He was nearly related to *C. Marius* by Blood, and was Son-in-Law to *Cinna* (whose Daughter no Reasons could oblige him to Divorce, though *M. Piso*, a Man of the Consular Dignity, dismissed *Annia*, who had formerly been Wife to *Cinna*, that he might ingratiate himself with *Sulla*, and to whom he had been married 18 Years, when *Sulla* prevailed in the State) finding his Life was now in Danger, not so much from *Sulla* himself, as from others that were attached to his Interests, he put on a Disguise not at all suited to his Fortune, and retired from the City by

L

Night.

Night. Afterwards, tho' he was a mere Youth when he fell into the Hands of the Pirates, he carried himself with that Grandeur all the while he was in their Custody, that he was both dreaded and respected by them ; and what was most admirable, (for why should I omit a great Action, because it cannot be set off with the Ornament of Style?) He never undress'd, or so much as took off his Shoes in all the Time, least if he discovered any thing extraordinary, he might be suspected by those who guarded him now only with their Eyes.

C H A P. XLII.

Cæsar attacks and overcomes the Pyrates : Being deny'd by Junius the Proconsul, to punish them as he intended, he nails them all to the Cross.

TWould be tedious to give an Account of all his Atchievements, or to relate how industriously he possessed the Magistracy of *Rome* with such a dread of himself, that he prevailed upon them to neglect the Measures of him who was then *Proconsul* of *Asia*. Let this suffice

suffice for an Argument of the Greatness he was soon to arrive at: The Night after the Day in which he was redeemed at the publick Expence of the Cities, (tho' he compelled the Pirates to deliver Hostages over to them) being only a private Man, he furnished out a Fleet in the greatest Precipitation and Disorder, and sailed to the Place where the Pirates lay. He put part of their Navy to flight, part of it he sunk; some of the Ships, and a great many of the Men he took, and then returned in Triumph (for his Night Expedition) to his Company. When he had disposed the Captives into Custody, he went into *Bithynia*, to the Proconsul *Junius* (who at the same Time had the Government of *Asia*, and the adjacent Coast) to request of him, that he might have Liberty to punish the Prisoners. He denied his Suit, and declared that the Captives should be sold: (for Envy always is the Companion of Cowardice.) *Cæsar* returns to the Coast with prodigious Expedition, and before any Orders could arrive from the Proconsul, nailed every one of them to the Cross.

C H A P. XLIII.

Cæsar returns into Italy, is elected High-Priest ; rebuilds the Statues of Marius—and recalls the Children of such as had been proscribed, from Banishment.

HE now hastened his Arrival into Italy, that he might enter upon the Office of *High-Priest* (for he was elected *Pontifex Maximus* while he was absent, in the room of *Cotta*, a Consular Man.) He had been created *Flamen Dialis* by *Marius* and *Cinna*, whilst he was a Boy ; but lost that Place, by the Victory of *Sulla*, (who repealed all the Acts of the contrary Party;) and to secure himself from the Sight of the Pirates, who had then the Command of the Seas, and bore an inveterate Malice against him, he went aboard a small Vessel of four Oars, with two of his Friends, and ten Servants, and so sailed over the vast Gulph of the *Adriatick* Sea. Thinking once he espied the Enemy, he threw off all his Cloaths, and buckled his Sword to his Thigh, and so prepared himself for any Change of Fortune ; tho' he afterwards was convinced of his Mistake, in
supposing

supposing some lofty Trees he saw at a great Distance, to be the Masts of a Fleet. His Conduct in the City, his glorious Impeachment of *Dolabella*, the unusual Favour of the People to him upon that Occasion, his civil and honourable Emulation with *Q. Catulus*, and others of the greatest Esteem ; his defeating the same *Catulus*, who was generally allowed to be the first Man in the Senate, in the Election to the High Priesthood, before he was *Prætor* ; his restoring the Statues of *C. Marius*, while he was *Ædile*, in Opposition to the Nobility ; his reinstating the Children of the proscrib'd in their ancient Dignity ; his admirable Conduct when he was *Prætor* and *Quæstor* in *Spain*, (the last of which Offices he bore under *Vetus Antistius*, Grandfather to the present *Vetus*, who has two Sons of the *Consular* and *Sacerdotal* Order, and is a Man of all the virtuous Endowments which the Condition of our Nature can arrive to :) These Things (I say) fall under every ones Notice, and so are not necessary to be inserted.

C H A P. XLIV.

A Treaty concluded between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, which is strengthened by Pompey's marrying Julia, Cæsar's Daughter. Cæsar's Consulship, and Division of Lands in Campania. The Government of Gaul decreed to Cæsar for five Years.

WHILE he was Consul, a Treaty of Alliance in Power, was concluded between himself, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, which proved of fatal Consequence to the City, the Empire, and tho' at distant Time, to themselves equally pernicious in different Respects. *Pompey* was induced to come into these Measures, that his Conduct in the Provinces beyond Sea, (which was arraigned by a great many) might be ratified by *Cæsar* now he was Consul. The Advantage which *Cæsar* proposed was, that he should enhance his own Reputation, by improving that of *Pompey*, and encrease his own Interest, by throwing the Envy of their common Greatness upon *Pompey* alone. *Crassus* finding himself unable to support his Dignity, thought he could not fail to do it, under the Protection of *Pompey's* Interest,

Of Velleius Paterculus. 115

rest, and the Assistances of *Cæsar*. Farther Alliances was contracted between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, by his Marriage to *Cæsar's* Daughter. *Cæsar*, in his Consulship, enacted, that *the Fields of Campania should be divided*. *Pompey* being the chief Instrument of this Decree, 20000 Citizens were carried thither, and that Country restor'd to its ancient Priviledges, 152 Years after *Capua* was reduced under the Government of a *Præfett*, in the Time of the *Punic* War. *Bibulus*, Colleague with *Cæsar*, when he saw he could not oppose his Proceedings, as he endeavoured to do, kept himself at Home ; by which Means, striving to incense the Envy of the People against him, he helpt only to promote his Power. The Administration of *Gaul* was now conferred on *Cæsar* for five Years.

CHAP.

C H A P. XLV.

Publius Clodius his Character. He procures Cicero to be banished, who in two Years is restor'd to his Country and his Honours. Cato remits a vast Sum of Money from Cyprus to Rome.

ABOUT that Time, *P. Clodius* (a Man of a noble Extraction, of great Eloquence and Boldness, one whose Words and Actions would be controuled by nothing but his own Will, and who as speedily executed what he wickedly designed, who was suspected to have defiled his own Sister, and had been convicted of Incest, and committing Adultery in the midst of the most sacred Ceremonies among the *Roman People*) who had always born an inveterate Hatred to *Cicero* (for what else could be supposed between two of so different Tempers?) and had been degraded from the Senate, to the Quality of a *Plebeian*, enacted a Law when he was Tribune, that *whosoever killed a Citizen of Rome uncondemned, should be forbidden the Use of Fire and Water.* Tho' *Cicero* was not mentioned in this Law, yet he was the only Person aimed

aimed at in it. Thus was this honourable Patriot rewarded with Banishment, for having retrieved his Country from Ruine. *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were suspected to have had some Hand in his Disgrace; for *Cicero* had incurred their Displeasure, by refusing to be one of the Twenty who were deputed to distribute the Lands of *Campania*. Within two Years he was restored to his Dignity and Country, by the sincere, tho' tardy Affection of *Pompey*, by the Desires of all *Italy*, by the Decrees of the Senate, by the Friendship and Order of *Annius Milo*, Tribune of the People. Since the Exile and Return of *Numidicus*, there never was any one expelled with greater Malice, or received again with greater Acclamations of Joy and Satisfaction. His House was re-built with as great Munificence by the Senate, as it had maliciously been pulled down by *Clodius*. The same *Clodius* dispatched *M. Cato* from the State, under the Pretence of conferring an honourable Employment upon him. He enacted a Law, that he should be sent as *Quæstor*, with a *Prætorian* Power, (and another *Quæstor* under him) to the Island *Cyprus*, to depose *Ptolemy* from his Kingdom, who deserved
that

that Indignity by the vicious Conduct of his Life. But he had put an end to his Life before the arrival of Cato, who brought a much greater Treasure back to Rome than was expected. To praise his Integrity would be a Crime, tho' he may be charged with Insolence in this Affair. When the whole City, with the Consuls and Senate came to meet him, he sailed by them along the Tiber, and would not set his Foot on Shoar till he came to the Place where the Money was to be landed.

C H A P. XLVI.

Cæsar's noble Exploits in Gaul and Britain. Crassus chose Consul with Pompey, appointed General in the Parthian War. His Character and Overthrow.

CÆsar had performed such Exploits in Gaul, as would take up many Volumes to illustrate. He was not content with the innumerable, and many fortunate Victories he had obtained, the many Thousands of the Enemy he had slain and taken Prisoner, but carries his Army over into *Britain*, as if he resolved to open another World for our and his own Empire.

Empire. The invincible Consuls, *Cn. Pompeius*, and *M. Crassus*, entered on that Office the second Time. Their Practices to obtain it, were as dishonourable as their Administration was inglorious. The Government of *Gaul* was prolonged to *Caesar*, for the same Space he had enjoyed it before, by a Decree which *Pompey* proposed to the People; *Syria* was conferred on *Crassus*, who was then preparing for the *Parthian* War. He was in other respects virtuous, and moderate in his Pleasures; but in the Desire of Riches and Glory, he neither knew nor admitted of any Restraint. The Tribunes of the People endeavoured to obstruct his March into *Syria*, with the most solemn Execrations, which if they had prevail'd only against him, would have rendered the Loss of the General an Advantage to the State, since then the Army had been preserved. King *Orodes* enclosing him with a prodigious Number of Horse, destroyed him, and the greatest part of the Army, after he had passed the *Euphrates*, and was on his March towards *Seleucia*. *C. Cassius*, who was then *Quaestor*, and afterwards the Author of a most detestable Villany, took care of the Legions which were left, and preserved

Syria in its Allegiance to *Rome*, so that he often, with very great Successes, vanquished and put to Flight the *Parthians*, when they made Invasions of that Country.

C H A P. XLVII.

A farther Account of Cæsar's Actions in Gaul, especially about Alexia. Julia, the Wife of Pompey, and Sister to Cæsar, dies. Clodius slain by Milo.

IN this, and the following Process of Time, *Cæsar* had slain above 400000 of the Enemy, and taken as many Captive. He often gave them Battle in the open Field, and sometimes surprised them by Ambushes. He twice penetrated *Britain*, and of nine successive Years, there did not one Summer pass, in which his Exploits did not deserve a Triumph. But his Atchievements about *Alexia*, were such as scarce Mortal could attempt, or any less than a *God* perform. He had been in *Gaul* seven Years, when *Julia*, the Wife of *Pompey*, and the only Tye of jarring, weak Alliance between him and *Cæsar*, deceased. And soon after (as
if

if Fortune had determined to dissolve all Obligations between these Generals, who were ordained to so fatal a Dispute) *Pompey's* little Son, which he had by *Julia*, expired. The Elections of the Citizens were now determined by Sword and Slaughter, which raged with an uncontrouled Violence. The Consulship was disposed of to *Pompey* alone, by the Concurrence of those who before envied his Greatness. This unusual Step to Honour, and the Reconciliation of the Nobility to him, enlarged the Breach between him and *Cæsar*. He exerted the Authority of his Office, in the Suppression of canvassing for Voices at Elections. About this Time, *P. Clodius* was killed by *Milo*, who was then Candidate for the Consulship, in a Quarrel which arose upon their meeting near *Bovillæ*: a Precedent very unwarrantable in its self, tho' of great Service to the State. *Milo* was condemn'd, not so much for the Heinousness of the Fact, as for the Pleasure of *Pompey*. *M. Cato*, when he delivered his Opinion, declared he was not guilty, which if he had done sooner, there would a great many have seconded his Opinion, and have proved, that he had killed one of the

M most

most pernicious Enemies to the State,
and to all good and vertuous Men.

C H A P. XLVIII.

The beginning of the Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey. Cæsar makes very honourable Offers of Peace, which is prevented by Curio: His Character.

S O O N after this, the Beginnings of the Civil War broke out. Every honest and unprejudiced Man was of Opinion, that both the Armies should be disbanded. *Pompey*, in his second Consulship, would have the Government of both the *Spains* conferred on him: He had governed those Provinces for three Years, while he staid at Home to take care of the City, by his Lieutenants *Afranius* and *Petreius*, whereof one had been Consul, the other Prætor. He agreed with those who were for *Cæsar's* disbanding his Army, but opposed all who were of the same mind in Relation to himself. Had he died two Years before the War began, (when he had completed the building of the Theatre, and the Works about it) in that dangerous
Illness

Illness which seized him in *Campania* (tho' at that Time all *Italy* decreed public Offerings for his Recovery,) it had not been in the Power of Fortune to lessen his Greatness; and that Glory he had enjoyed upon Earth, he might have carried with him unobscured to the other World. There was not any thing which inflam'd the Civil War, and the Calamities which ensued for twenty Years, more than *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People. He was of a noble Extraction, great Eloquence, and prodigious Resolution, lavish of his own and other Mens Fortune and Reputation: His Villanies were contrived with great Ingenuity; his Eloquence alway succeeded against the Publick. No Riches, Pleasures, or Satisfaction, were able to satiate his exorbitant Desires: He first gave in with the Side of *Pompey* (who was then thought the Protector of the State) but soon after, he dissembled his Engagement to either Side, tho' his Heart was attached to *Cæsar*. But whether it was of his own accord, or whether he was bribed with an hundred thousand Sesterces, is undetermined. However, he broke the Measures of the ensuing Treaty, which *Cæsar* very

honourably proposed, and with which *Pompey* as readily complied, when none took care of the publick Tranquillity except *Cicero*. Others have given an Account of the Affairs of this Juncture in their Writings, and I hope to do the same in some of mine.

C H A P. XLIX.

The Death of Catulus, Metellus, Hortensius, the two Luculli. Conditions of Peace offered again by Cæsar, but refused; the War begins.

I Shall return to my intended Design; when I have congratulated the Happiness of *Q. Catulus*, the two *Luculli*, *Metellus*, and *Hortensius*: They lived in the greatest Reputation and Honour in the State, without Envy; and when they had enjoyed the highest Dignities without Danger, before the Civil War broke out, they died a natural and a fortunate Death. The Civil War broke out in the Consulship of *Lentulus* and *Marcellus*, in the Seven hundred and third Year from the Building of the City, and in the eighty eighth before you entred upon your Office,

fice. The Generals seemed, one to have the most plausible, the other the most powerful Cause. *Pompey* rely'd on the Authority of the Senate. *Cæsar* on the Courage of his Soldiers. The Consuls and Senate had conferred a supreme Command, rather on the Cause than the Person of *Pompey*. *Cæsar* made the utmost Advances towards an Accommodation, but nothing was accepted by the *Pompeians*: Then the other Consul was more violent than he ought to be: *Lentulus* could expect nothing from the Repose of the State. *M. Cato* declared, that he would die before he would accept any Conditions relating to the State from a private Citizen. An honest and virtuous Man would rather have commended the Designs of *Pompey*, but one who regarded his own Security, would have adhered to *Cæsar's*; since those of the one appeared to be most honourable, but the other carried the greatest Terror. When he had rejected all the Proposals of *Cæsar*, he was content only with a Province, and the Command of one Legion, to come privately into the City, and to submit himself to the Voices of the People when he stood for the Consulship. *Cæsar* now finding

he must maintain a War, passed with his Army over the *Rubicon*. *Pompey*, the Consuls, and a great part of the Senate, retired out of *Italy*, to *Dyrrachium*.

C H A P. L.

Pompey retires from Rome and Italy, sails to *Dyrrachium*. *Cæsar* takes *Domitius*, and releases him. He comes to Rome, justifies his Conduct, passes over to Spain, and there conquers *Afranius* and *Petreibus*.

Cæsar, when he had *Domitius*, and the Legions of *Corfinius*, who were under him, at his Disposal, dismissed him, and some of his Men who had a Mind to go over with him to *Pompey*, and proceeded to *Brundisium*: Whence it appears that he had rather have put an end to the War on fair Terms, when no Losses were received on either Side, than have oppress'd those who deserted from him. When he found that the Consuls had passed the Sea, he returned to the City, and publicly gave an Account of his Designs to the Senate. He declared the great Necessity he was under (being forced by the

the Violence of his Enemies) to defend himself by the Sword. He then determined to go for *Spain*, but the Expedition of his March was a little hindered by *Masilia*, a City which adhered to her Fidelity, tho' she forfeited her Prudence, in assuming the Office of a Mediator between the two powerful Armies, which became none but those who could compel the obstinate to Subjection. The Army under *Afranius*, who was of the Consular, and *Petreius*, of the Prætorian Order, being amazed at the Bravery and Grandeur of his Arrival, surrendered to *Cæsar*. Both the Lieutenants, and those who had a mind to follow them, had Leave to go over to *Pompey*.

C H A P. LI.

Cæsar follows Pompey into Greece, and besieges him in his Camp, but is often worsted by the Pompeians.

THE next Year, when *Dyrrachium* and the adjacent Country was possessed by the Encampments of *Pompey* (who having sent for all the Troops of Horse and Foot from the Provinces beyond Sea,

Sea, and summoned in the Forces of all the Kings, Tetrarchs, and Governours, made up a prodigious Army, and disposed Garrisons upon all the Coasts of the Sea, to prevent the landing of the Enemies Forces) *Cæsar* made so great use of his wonted Expedition and Fortune, that these Disadvantages did not hinder his Arrival with his Army at the Place he desired, so that he formed his Camp near that of *Pompey*; and soon after enclosed him with Fortifications. But the Besiegers laboured under the want of Necessaries, more than the Besieged. *Balbus Cornelius*, with an incredible Rashness, entered the Quarters of the Enemy, and had several Conferences with the Consul *Lentulus*, who (by setting a great Value upon his Interest) tho' he was no Citizen, but a *Spaniard* by Birth, by this Means might advance himself to the Honour of a Triumph, and the Priesthood, and arrive to a Consular Dignity from a private Person. They had now many doubtful Engagements, but one more particularly, which was very successful to the *Pompeians*, wherein *Cæsar's* Forces received a very considerable Defeat.

C H A P. LII.

*Both Armies meet and engage at Pharsalia;
Cæsar conquers; his wonderful Clemency
to the Conquered after the Battle.*

CÆsar now marched his Army to *Thes-*
salia, the Place designed by the Fates
for his Victory. *Pompey* (against the Per-
swasions of many, who advised him to
retire into Italy, which had certainly been
the most prudent Course; and others,
who moved, that *the War should be pro-*
longed, since the Honour of his Cause
would have procured him continual Ad-
vantage) gave way to his own Passion,
and directed his March in the Pursuit of
the Enemy. The Battle of *Pharsalia*;
the Event of that fatal Day to *Rome*;
the vast Effusion of Blood on both Sides;
the clashing of the two greatest Men in
Rome, the Loss of one of the Glories of
the State, and many the most noted Men
of the *Pompeian* Faction are Subjects
too vast to be confined to the Substance of
this Volume. I must take Notice, that
as soon as *Cæsar* found *Pompey's* Army be-
gin to retreat, his chief Care was to se-
cure his Adversaries from the Violence of
his Soldiers. Heavens!

Heavens! what a base Return to his Clemency did he afterwards meet with from *Brutus*! There was no Circumstance in that Victory more noble, generous and great, than that our Country lost not one Citizen but those who fell in the Battle. But the Obstinacy of the Vanquished overcame the Clemency of the Conqueror, since he was more willing to grant them Life, than they were to receive it.

C H A P. LIII.

Pompey flies into Ægypt, and is there barbarously murdered by Ptolemy, in the Fifty eighth Year of his Age.

Pompey flying away with the two *Leontuli* of the Consular Quality, his Son *Sextus*, and *Favonius*, of the Prætorian Order, (these being all the Companions which Fortune could afford him,) some of them perswaded him to direct his Flight to the *Parthians*, others into *Africa*, where he would find King *Juba* a constant Friend to his Interest; but he resolved for *Ægypt*, expecting a kind Reception there upon Account of the Services he had

had done to the Father of the young King, who was now upon the Throne at *Alexandria*. But who retains any Sense of our Services when we are in Distress! How often do the Revolutions of Fortune dissolve Mens Fidelity! The King was moved by *Theodotus* and *Achillas*, to dispatch some to advise *Pompey* (who had very lately taken in his Wife *Cornelia* from the *Mitylenians*, to be a Companion of his Misfortunes) to come on board their Vessel, out of his own great Ship. When he had yielded to their Perswasions, the Glory of the Roman Name was murdered by the Command of an *Ægyptian* Slave, in the Consulship of *C. Cesar*, and *P. Servilius*. This was the End of this noble and illustrious Person, when he had subdued the whole Universe, and raised himself to that Degree of Honour which could not be surpassed, in the 58th Year of his Age, the Day before that of his Birth. Such was the Alteration of his Fortune, that the Earth, which (not long before) could scarce contain his Victories, should now deny him a space for a Grave. They certainly must be very much busied in other Affairs, who mistake five Years in
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the Age of this eminent Man, and one almost of our own Time, when they might so easily have been undeceived, by computing from the Consulship of C. *Atilius*, and Q. *Servilius*. This I mention not by way of Censure upon any one, but to obviate Exceptions against what I have related.

C H A P. LIV.

Cæsar's Death attempted in Ægypt, which he prevents : Scipio and Juba revive the War in Africk, to whom Cato joins his Forces.

THE Fidelity of the King, and those whose Direction he submitted to, was not greater to *Cæsar* than it had been to *Pompey*. They first of all assaulted him by Stratagem, but when that would not succeed, they opposed him in an open War, but were soon made to suffer the Punishments they had deserved from both the Generals, tho' there did but one of them survive. The Person indeed of *Pompey* was no where present, but his Name was every where respected. The great Esteem and Honour of his Cause, had occasioned

occasioned a War in *Afric*, under the Command of *Juba* and *Scipio*, a Man of the Consular Order, and whom *Pompey* had design'd for his Father-in-Law, two Years before he died. Their Forces were augmented by those of *M. Cato*, who brought some Legions over to them, notwithstanding the extreme Difficulties of the March, and want of Necessaries. This Man, tho' his Soldiers offered him the supreme Command, chose rather to obey one who was in a higher Degree of Honour.

C H A P. LV.

Cæsar follows the Pompeians in Afric, and is victorious. He sails into Spain, and in a very dangerous and bloody Battle, overcomes Cn. Pompeius, Son of Pompey the Great.

THE Promise I have given to be as compendious as possible, obliges me to be very short in my Relations. *Cæsar* followed his good Fortune into *Africa*, which was now in Possession of the *Pompeians*, since the Death of *Curio*, who commanded the *Julian* Party. He first

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engaged them with various Success, but afterwards, with that which always attended him, and reduced the Forces of the Enemy. His Clemency was as great to all the vanquished, as it had been to those he subdued before. When he had finished the War in *Afric*, he was alarmed with another far more terrible, from *Spain*; (for his Conquest of *Pharnaces* was a very small Addition to his Glory.) It was raised by *Cn. Pompeius*, Son to him who was surnamed the *Great*, a Youth of prodigious Spirit and Knowledge in War. All who had any Veneration for the Character of his Father, came into his Assistance, from every Part of the Empire. The Fortune of *Cæsar* attended him into *Spain*, tho' he never engaged in a more dangerous and obstinate Battle. His Army giving way, he alighted from his Horse, and stood before his retiring Troops, and (having first cursed his Fortune, for reserving him to so disgraceful an End) told his Soldiers, that for his own Part, he would stand his Ground, and desired them to consider *what a General*, and in what unhappy Circumstances they were going to desert. Shame, more than Bravery, obliged

ed his Army to rally again. The Fight was renewed by the Courage of the General, rather than that of the Soldiers. *Cn. Pompeius* sorely wounded, was killed in a Wood, to which he had escaped. *Labienus* and *Varus* were slain in the Fight.

C H A P. LVI.

Cæsar's glorious Return to Rome: He pardons all that had bore Arms against him: He triumphs five Times, and is slain in the Senate by Brutus and Cassius.

CÆsar, now he had overcome all his Enemies, returned to the City, and (what seems to be incredible) freely pardoned all who had born Arms against him. He diverted the Town with a magnificent Shew of Gladiators, a Representation of a Battle at Sea, Engagements of Horse and Foot, Encounters between Elephants, and Feasting, which lasted for many Days. He had five Triumphs: The Furniture of that from *Gaul*, was of Citron Wood: that from *Pontus*, of *Acanthus*: that from *Alexandria*, of Tortoise: from *Afric*, of Ivory, and from *Spain*, of polished Silver. The Money

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which

which he made of the Spoils, amounted to more than Six hundred Millions of Sesterces. Tho' he had arrived to such Greatness, and used all his Victories with extreme Clemency, yet could not this great Man enjoy a perfect Quiet longer than five Months. He returned into the City in *October*, and was killed on the *Ides of March*, by the Treachery of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, (the first of whom he had disobliged, by only promising him the Consulship; the other he had exasperated, by delaying his Entrance upon that Office) these formed a Conspiracy, and admitted *D. Brutus*, *C. Trebonius*, and other eminent Men, who owed their Promotion to the highest Dignities, to the Success of his Arms, into their Designs against his Life. *M. Antonius*, a Man always prepared for bold Adventures, and Colleague with *Cæsar* in the Consulship, had drawn a great deal of Envy upon him, by placing the Ensigns of Sovereignty upon his Head, as he sat before the *Rostra*, at the *Lupercal Games*. *Cæsar* indeed did refuse the Honour, but in a manner which did not express the least Resentment.

C H A P. LVII.

Cæsar's fatal rejecting the Advice of Hirtius and Panfa : He despises the Presages of his Death by the Soothsayers.

THE Advice of *Panfa* and *Hirtius* to *Cæsar*, was now proved by a sad Experience, to have deserved his Regard. They always told him, that as he had advanced his Power by Force, he must make use of the same Means to preserve it. *Cæsar* replied, that he had rather die, than live a Terror to his Country. While he expected the same Returns of Clemency to himself which he had shewn to others, he was suddenly circumvented by the Ungrateful. The immortal Gods gave several Presages and Indications of the Danger which would ensue. The Soothsayers warned him to take care of the Ides of March. His Wife *Calpurnia*, being terrified by a Dream, desired him not to go abroad that Day; and many Libels which detected the Conspiracy were given him, but he neglected to read them. Such is the irresistible Power of Fate, that it takes from Men all Thought and

Reflection, where it designs any Revolution in their Fortune.

C H A P. LVIII.

Brutus seizes and guards the Capitol: Dolabella gives his Sons as Hostages for his Safety in coming down from it: A general Pardon proposed by Cicero, and accepted by the Senate.

BRutus and Cassius were Prætors the same Year in which they committed this Villany, and D. Brutus was designed Consul for the next. They and the rest of the Conspiracy, under the Guard of a Company of D. Brutus's Gladiators, got into the Capitol, when the Consul Antonius (whom Cassius advised should be killed with Cæsar, but was opposed by Brutus, who said, that a Citizen was to require the Life of none but a Tyrant, for they were obliged to give Cæsar that Name to palliate their Villany) assembled the Senate. For now Dolabella, (who was designed by Cæsar for his Colleague in the Consulship) had seized the Fasces and Consular Ensigns, and, as if he had designed a Reconciliation, sent his Children

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as Hostages to the Murderers of *Cæsar*, and promised that they should have Liberty of coming out of the *Capitol* without any Danger. *Cicero* (in Imitation of the celebrated Decree of the *Athenians*) proposed an Act of general *Amnesty*, which was carried by the Consent of the *Fathers*.

C H A P. LIX.

Cæsar's Will is opened ; C. Octavius adopted, Grandchild to his Sister Julia : Octavius's Character and Descent.

THE Will of *Cæsar* was now opened, whereby he adopted *C. Octavius*, Grandson to his Sister *Julia*. I shall give a short Account of his Descent, notwithstanding the Haste which presses me, and tho' others have sufficiently related it before. *C. Octavius* was not descended from a *Patrician* Family, but a very illustrious one of the *Equestrian* Order. He was an honourable, generous, sincere, and wealthy Man : He was first of all elected *Prætor*, among many other very eminent Persons : That Dignity procured him *Atia*, the Daughter of *Julia*, for his Wife ; and that honourable Alliance invested him

him in the Province of *Macedonia*, where he was stiled Emperor; but in his return from thence to stand for the Consulship, he deceased, leaving his Son scarcely arrived to the Years of Manhood. *C. Caesar*, his Great Uncle (while he was under the Tuition of his Father-in-Law *Philippus*) loved him as his own, and in his eighteenth Year took him to be his Companion in the *Spanish War*, where he allowed him the Convenience of his own Quarters, and suffered him to be carried in no Litter but his own; he conferred the Honour of the High-Priesthood upon him while he was a Child. When the Civil Wars were ended, he sent the Youth to *Apollonia*, where he might improve his Studies, proposing, after that, to take him with him to the *Getic* and *Parthian War*. As soon as he heard of his Uncle's Death, some Centurions of the Legions which quartered in that Neighbourhood, came to him, and promised him their own and their Soldiers Assistance, which *Salvidienus* and *Agrippa* informed him would be very considerable. He immediately sets out for the City, and when he came as far as *Brundisium*, he had an Account of the Murder, and Will;

Will of his Uncle. Upon his Arrival at Rome, a vast Concourse of his Friends came to meet him, and as he entered the City, the Orbit of the Sun appeared circular and inflected, and of the Colour of a Rainbow, forming a Crown over the Head of him who was afterwards to be exalted to so great Dignity.

C H A P. LX.

Octavius begins to act as Cæsar's Heir.
Diffensions between him and Marcus Antonius.

HIS Mother *Attia*, and Father-in-Law *Philippus*, disliked that he should assume the Name of the envied Fortune of *Cæsar*, but the Fates would have him the Establisher of the Empire, and Preserver of the *Roman* Glory. Therefore his divine Soul disdain'd all humane Counsel; he directed his Pursuit after what was great, tho' attended with Danger, rather than what was mean, tho' it might be acquired with the utmost Safety. He chose to believe his Uncle's Opinion of him, rather than his Father-in Laws, alleging, That 'twould be dishonourable
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to think himself unworthy a Title which *Cesar* thought be deserved. The Consul *Antonius* received him with Disregard, (tho' not so much out of Contempt as Fear) and scarcely admitted him into the *Pompeian* Gardens to talk with him. Soon after, as if he suspected Danger from him, he villainously accuses him of Treachery, tho' he betrayed his own Falshood thereby in a very shameful Manner. The violent Designs of *Antonius* and *Dolabella* to obtain the Sovereignty, now broke out; *Antonius* seized Seven hundred Millions of Sesterces which *Cesar* had deposited in the Temple of *Opis*; altered publick Records, and plac'd corrupted ones in their Room. Every thing was exposed to the highest Bidder, while the Consul prostituted the State. He proposed to possess himself of *Gaul*, the Province which was designed for *D. Brutus*, while *Dolabella* resolved upon those which lay beyond the Sea. But Distaste and Jealousy began to arise between these, since both of them dissembled their Designs, and had different Prospects in view. From that Time the young *C. Cesar* was daily pursued by the Treacheries of *Antonius*.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXI.

OCTAVIUS levies an Army, and beats Anthony at Mutina, and forces him to fly out of Italy.— He is honoured by the Senate with a Statue.

THE City oppressed by the Tyranny of *Antonius*, began to languish. Every one had Resentment and Indignation, but not one had Courage enough to resist. *C. Caesar* being now entered upon the nineteenth Year of his Age, when he had attempted Things of amazing Difficulty, and atchieved the most honourable Undertakings in his own private Conduct, discovered a greater Concern for the State, than the whole Senate. He first of all called in the *Veteran* Soldiers of his Father out of *Calabria*, and soon after from *Casilinum*. Others followed their Example, till at last he had formed a regular Army. Soon after, when *Antonius* went to meet his Troops, which he had ordered to repair to *Brundisium*, from the *Transmarine* Provinces, the *Fourth*, and *Martial* Legion, being informed of the Pleasure of the Senate, and the excellent Disposition of
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so generous a Youth, took up their Ensigns, and resigned themselves to *Cæsar*. The Senate, when they had honoured him with an *Equestrian* Statue, which now stands before the *Rostra*, and bears the Inscription of the Year of his Age, (which Dignity had been conferred on none for the Space of Three hundred Years, except *L. Sulla*, *Cn. Pompeius*, and *C. Cæsar*) created him *Proprætor*; and gave Command, that he, with *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were designed Consuls, should carry on the War against *Antonius*. He had admirable Success in it in his twentieth Year, near *Mutina*: And having relieved *Brutus* from a Siege, forced *Antonius* to leave *Italy*, in a scandalous and dishonourable Flight. One of the Consuls was slain in the Field, the other died of a Wound within a very few Days.

C H A P. LXII.

*The Pompeian Party begin again to revive.
Provinces decreed to Brutus and Cassius.
A noble Instance of Gratitude in Cæsar's
Soldiers, upon his being dishonourably treat-
ed by the Senate.*

BEfore the Defeat of *Antonius*, the Senate passed very honourable Decrees in Favour of *Cæsar* and his Army, by the Advice of *Cicero*. But as soon as their Fears were vanished, their Inclinations began to discover themselves, and the Faction of the *Pompeians* began to revive. The Provinces (which they had before seized upon, without any Order of the Senate) were now decreed to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and every one was esteemed who joined themselves and their Forces to their Party ; and the Command of all the Provinces beyond Sea was resigned to them : For *M. Brutus* and *Cassius*, sometimes out of real Fear of *Antonius*, and sometimes pretending they were in dread of him, only to fix the Envy of the World upon him, declared by their Edicts, that *they would be content to live in perpetual Exile, if it would advance the Tranquillity of*

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the State ; that they would not give the least Occasion for War, since they enjoyed abundance of Honour from the Conscience of their good Actions. They retired from the City and Italy, and with united Application and Force, made themselves Masters of the Provinces and the Armies ; declaring, that where-ever they were, there was the Commonwealth, and received the Money which the Quæstors were bringing from the Foreign Provinces to Rome, who willingly resigned it to them. All these Proceedings were ratified and confirmed by Decrees of the Senate. A Triumph was ordered for *D. Brutus*, who then lived by the Courtesy of others. The Bodies of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were honoured with a publick Funeral : But so little Regard was there paid to *Cæsar*, that the Ambassadors who were sent to his Army, were ordered to speak to the Soldiers separately from him : But they were not so ungrateful as the Senate, for when *Cæsar* dissembled his taking Notice of this Affront, they declared, that they wou'd hearken to no Proposals in his Absence. This was the Time when *Cicero* (out of his natural Fondness of the *Pompeian* Faction) delivered his Opinion, That
Cæsar

Cæsar ought to be praised and * extolled, but in another Tone than what that Expression commonly bears.

C H A P. LXIII.

Anthony passes the Alps, enters the Camp of Lepidus, and leaving him the Title, obtains the Command of General. Plan-
eus and Pollio submit themselves to Anthony.

ANtonius had now passed the Alps in his Flight; he was at first rejected by Lepidus, in their Conferences, (who had clandestinely been made High-Priest in the room of Cæsar, and continued in Gaul, tho' Spain was decreed for his Province) but by frequent exposing himself to the Sight of the Soldiers (since Lepidus was the worst of Generals, Anthony preferable to many when calm and sober) he was admitted through a Breach in the back Part of the Camp; he submitted to Lepidus in the Titles of Com-
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* The Expression in the Latin is, Cæsarem laudandum & tollendum. tollere signifies to take out of the Way, as well as to advance, &c.

mand, tho' the Army was entirely governed by him. Upon the Reception of *Antonius*, *Juventius Laterensis*, a Man who lived agreeably to his Death, advised *Lepidus* not to join himself with *Antonius*, who was declared an Enemy to his Country by the Senate. When he found his Counsel was rejected, he ran himself through with his Sword. *Plancus* had struggled long with himself, and scarce knew his own Resolution; at last he resign'd the little Fidelity he had to *D. Brutus*, who was designed for his Colleague in the Consulship; He made himself a Property to the Senate by his Letters, and soon after a Traytor to his Party; for he and *Afinius Pollio*, who constantly favoured the Faction of *Cæsar*, and opposed that of *Pompey*, surrendered their Armies to *Antonius*.

C H A P. LXIV.

Decius Brutus, one of the Murderers of Cæsar, is slain by Anthony's Command. The Proscription and Death of Cicero.

D. Brutus being deserted by *Plancus*, and not long after attempted by his Treachery, and finding that his Army daily

daily revolted, was slain in the House of one *Camelius*, (a Nobleman of great Hospitality, who received him in his Flight) by some who were detached by *Antonius* for that Purpose. Thus did he suffer Punishment for the base Returns he made to *C. Caesar*, who had always deserved very well of him. He had been one of the chief of *Caesar's* Friends, and became his Murderer; he threw the Envy of that Fortune, from which he reaped so much Honour, upon the Author of it. The Favours he had received from *Caesar*, he was very willing to retain; but *Caesar*, who had conferred them, he resolved should die. 'Twas about this Time that *M. Tullius* branded the Memory of *Antonius* with everlasting Marks of Infamy by his repeated Accusations. He arraigned him with Abundance of Eloquence: But the Tribune *Caninius* attacked him with Violence and Outrage; but their Vindication of the publick Liberty occasioned the loss of both their Lives. The Proscription began with the Blood of the Tribune, and (as if *Antonius's* Thirst of Revenge was satiated) ended with the Punishment of *Cicero*; *Lepidus* was now

pronounced an Enemy by the Senate, as *Antonius* had been before.

C H A P. LXV.

The Triumvirate of Anthony, Octavius, and Lepidus. Ventidius triumphs in Rome, where he had a little before been led Captive.

THERE was now an Intercourse of Letters between *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, and some Overtures of a Treaty were proposed. *Antonius* suggested to *Cæsar*, how much he was detested by the Faction of the *Pompeians*, and how *Brutus* and *Cassius* were advanced by the Interest of *Cicero*, and protested, that if *Cæsar* did disregard his Alliance, he would join his Forces with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were now seventeen Legions strong; and alledged farther, that *Cæsar* ought to be more concerned for the Revenge of his Father than himself, who was no more than a Friend to him. Upon this there was an Union of Power struck up, and upon the Entreaties of both the Armies, an Alliance in Blood contracted between *Cæsar* and *Antonius*, by a Marriage

riage of the Daughter-in-Law of *Antonius* to *Cæsar*, who with his Colleague *Q. Pedius*, entered the Consulship the Day before he was twenty Years of Age, 709 Years after the Building of the City, and 72 before you, great Sir, were admitted into that Office. This Year saw *Ventidius*, join the Consular *Prætecta* to the *Prætorian* Gown in that City, through which he had been led in Triumph among the Prisoners of the *Picentines*, and in which he had afterwards the Honour of a Triumph himself.

C H A P. LXVI.

Anthony and Lepidus set up a third Proscription, which is in vain opposed by Cæsar. The Death and Character of Cicero.

ANTONIUS and *Lepidus* being both declared Enemies to the State, as I have related, and more willing to reflect on what they had suffered, than what they deserved, tho' *Cæsar* in vain opposed them, having but one Voice against two, set up that most execrable Proceeding begun by *Sulla*, in another Proscription. Nothing reflects more Dishonour upon those Times, than

than that *Cæsar* should be compelled to proscribe any one, or that *Cicero* was made an Instance of that base Practice. The Voice of the Publick was silenced by the Villainy of *Antonius*; no one took any care of his Safety, who had for many Years defended the publick Security of the City, and that of every private Member of it: But thou hast got nothing *Antonius*, (for my Indignation, which will not be contained, forces me to exceed the Limits of this Work) I say, thou hast got nothing by publishing a Reward for the honourable Life of that divine Man, and inviting the Cruelty of a Russian by the Temptations of Gold. Thou hast deprived *M. Cicero*, indeed, of an anxious Life, and a troublesome old Age; of a Life more miserable under thy Supremacy, than Death could be, whilst thou wast *Triumvir*: But so little hast thou attained thy Designs in lessening the Reputation and Glory of his Actions and Eloquence, that thou hast rather enhanced 'em: He lives, and will survive in the Memory of all Ages, and as long as this Body of Nature, whether it was formed by Chance, Providence, or any other Power (which he alone, of all the Ro-

mans,

mans, could search into with his Understanding, comprehend by his Knowledge, and illustrate with his Eloquence;) I say, as long as that remains entire, the Glory of Cicero shall accompany its Duration through distant Ages, which shall admire his Writings against thee, and detest thy Villainy to him; and the Race of Mankind shall sooner fall, than the honourable mention of his Name among Posterity.

C H A P. LXVII.

The Carriage and Behaviour of several Roman Citizens, to their Proscrib'd Friends and Relations. A Sarcastm of the Soldiers against Plancus.

AS no one can sufficiently lament the Fortune of these Times, so I will not pretend to express it in Words. But I must take Notice, that the Wives of the Proscribed discovered a constant Fidelity to their Husbands, the Freed Men and Servants a moderate one to their Masters, but the Children none at all to their Parents; so difficult is it for Men to wait for the Issue of their Hopes, how unfairly

unfairly forever conceived. Least any Thing sacred should be left, which might lessen and detract from their Cruelty, *Antonius* proscribed his Uncle *L. Cæsar*, and *Lepidus* his Brother *Paulus*; *Plancus* too had Interest enough to obtain that his Brother *Plotius* should be proscribed. Thence it was that the Soldiers who followed the Chariot of *Lepidus* and *Plancus*, made use of this Expression among the Execrations of the Citizens, as a common Jest. * *The two Consuls, instead of triumphing over the Gauls, triumph over their Brothers.*

* *The Expression in the Latin is, De Germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant Consules: The Argument of it consists in the Ambiguity of the Word Germanis, which cannot well be preserved in our Language, Germanis not being a proper Name, but intended to signify Brothers.*

CHAP.

C H A P. LXVIII.

The Actions and Character of Marcus Cælius, and Milo. The great Lenity and Moderation of Cæsar, in the Punishment of those that had abused him.

I Must now take Notice of what I have omitted, for the Dignity of the Persons will not suffer the Fact to be concealed. Whilst *Cæsar* fought for the Sovereignty in the Battles of *Pharsalia* and *Africa*, *M. Cælius*, a Man extremely like *Curio* in his Eloquence and Temper of Mind, tho' he was more accomplished in both, and full as ingeniously turn'd for Mischief, when he found that no small Matter would redeem his Affairs (which were now as desperate as the Disposition of his Mind) enacted some new Laws in his Prætorship, and would not be deterred from his Resolution by the Authority of the Senate and Consuls, but took *Milo Annius*, who was exasperated against the *Julian* Faction, because they had refused his Recall from Banishment, and raised a Sedition, or rather privately intended a Military Tumult in the City. But he was first removed from his Office,

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fice, and afterwards defeated by the Arms of the Consuls, and Command of the Senate in the Country of the *Thurians*. *Milo's* Enterprize of the same Nature, met with the same Success. He besieged *Compsa*, a City of the *Hirpini*, and was struck with a Stone, and so suffered the Revenge he owed to *Clodius* and his Country, which he invaded with Arms. He was a Man rather rash than valiant. But treating now of Things that are omitted, I must mention here the great Liberty which *Marullus Epidius* and *Flavius Cæsetius*, Tribunes of the People, made use of against *Cæsar*; for whilst they arraigned him with aspiring at the Sovereignty, they had like to have felt the Effects of that Power they accused him of aiming at: But his Passion went no higher upon this Provocation, than to remove them from the Government, chusing rather to punish them as a Censor, than correct them as a Dictator, and protested, that it was his greatest Misfortune, that he must either be obliged to exceed the Clemency he was naturally disposed to, or suffer his Dignity to be infringed. But to return to our History.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXIX.

*The Death of Trebonius, and Dolabella :
Vatinius his Character. All the Murder-
ers of Cæsar interdicted by the Pædian
Law.*

D*olabella* had now killed *Trebonius*, whom he succeeded in the Consulship at *Smyrna* in *Asia*, having deluded him by a Stratagem. He was one who proved very ungrateful to the Obligations *Cæsar* had laid upon him, in being one of his Murderers, who had advanced him to the Degree of a Consul. *C. Cassius* having received some brave Legions in *Syria*, from *Staius Murcus*, and *Crispus Marcius*, Men of the *Prætorian* Dignity, and Generals, besieged *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, and made him his Prisoner upon the Surrender of the Town, (tho' he had valiantly resigned his Neck to the Stroke of his Servant) and in that Success made himself Master of Ten Legions; *M. Brutus* extorted the Legions from *C. Antonius*, Brother to *M. Antonius*, in *Macedonia*, and from *Vatinius*, near *Dyrrachium*, which were very willing to change their Commander. He overcame *Antonius* by Arms,
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but subdued *Vatinius* by the Fame of his Greatness: For *Brutus* appeared worthy to be preferred to any General, and *Vatinius* came short of all upon every account. The Deformity of this Man's Body seemed to rival the Baseness of his Mind, which was shut up in a Habitation very agreeable for such a Tenant. He had seven Legions under him. The *Pædian* Law was passed by *Pædus*, Colleague with *Cæsar* in the Consulship, directing that all who were concerned in the Murder of *Cæsar's* Father, should be forbidden the use of Fire and Water. At that Time my Father's Brother *Capito* subscribed to *Agrippa* against *C. Cassius*. While Affairs are in this Posture in *Italy*, *Cassius*, by a very vigorous and successful War had taken the City *Rhodes*, an Undertaking of prodigious Difficulty; *Brutus* had subdued the *Lycians*, and marched his Army from thence into *Macedonia*. *Cassius* in all this Conduct acted so far against his Inclination, that he exceeded the Clemency of *Brutus*. You'll scarce meet with any who were more kindly favoured by Fortune at first, or afterwards more suddenly relinquished by her (as if she had been weary of them) than *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXX.

Cassius takes Rhodes; Lycia is conquered by Brutus; they both pass into Macedonia: The Battle of Philippi, where Cassius and Brutus being routed, are slain.

*C*Æsar and Antonius had now carried their Armies into Macedonia, where they engaged Brutus and Cassius, near Philippi. The Wing which Brutus commanded, forced the Enemy, and entered the Camp of Cæsar: For tho' he was very much indisposed, and had been intreated by his Physician Artorius, who had been affrighted in a Dream, to retire from his Quarters, he did notwithstanding discharge the Office of a General. The Part where Cassius commanded, was very much distressed, and retreated to higher Ground. Cassius thinking his Colleague had no better Success than himself, dispatched a Scout to bring Intelligence of the Multitude of Men who advanced toward him. The Scout was very slow in his return, and the Forces were very near, but could not be clearly discovered by their Faces or Ensigns, by reason of the Dust which they raised. Cassius thinking they were Enemies

mies who came to assault him, bound his Head in a Napkin, and laid down his Neck to his freed Man, with the greatest Intrepidity. His Head was scarce cut off, when the Scout returned with the News, that *Brutus* was Conqueror: But when he saw his General lie dead upon the Ground: I'll follow him (*said he*) whom I have ruined by my Slowness, and immediately fell upon his Sword. A few Days afterwards, *Brutus* renewed the Fight with the Enemy, and being overthrown, he conveyed himself to an Eminence by Night, and desired his freed Man *Strato*, who had always been familiar with him, to lend him his Assistance now he was going to die. Upon this he laid his Left Hand upon his Head, and directed the Point of his Sword with the Right, against his Left Breast, the Place where we feel the Palpitation of the Heart, and thrusting it forward, expired with the first Stroke.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXXI.

Messala and Corvinus surrender themselves to Cæsar, and are kindly received by him : Several eminent Romans slain on both Sides in the Fight.

THEN was *Messala*, an illustrious Youth, next in Authority to *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the Camp, desired by several to undertake the Command of the War. But he chose to resign himself to the Clemency of *Cæsar*, rather than stand to the Issue of Uncertainty. *Cæsar* did not receive any greater Satisfaction from his Victory, than his having preserved *Corvinus*; nor was there ever any more generous Instance of Gratitude, than that of *Corvinus* to *Cæsar* afterwards. Never was any War stained with the Blood of more illustrious Persons: Therein died the Son of *Cato*. The same Fortune took off *Lucullus* and *Hortensius*, Sons of the most eminent Citizens. *Varro*, when he was to die for the Diversion of *Antonius*, declared what was to befall him in relation to his Death, with the greatest Freedom. *Drusus Livius* (Father of *Julia Augusta*) and *Varus Quinctilius*, without

offering themselves to the Mercy of the Enemy; the first of them killed himself in his Tent; the other compelled his freed Man to be his Executioner, veiling his Head with the Ensigns of his Honour.

C H A P. LXXII.

A Parallel between Brutus and Cassius: Cnæus Domitius, and Statius Murcus, with a great Navy, repair to Sicily, and join Sex. Pompeius.

THIS was the End which Fortune was pleased to appoint to the Faction of *Brutus*, in the Thirty-seventh Year of his Age. His Mind was never corrupted till that Day, in which one rash Action sullied the Brightness of all his Virtues. *Cassius* was the more expert Commander, *Brutus* the better Man. *Brutus* you'd esteem as a sincere Friend, *Cassius* as a more formidable Enemy. The one had great Abilities, the other a stricter Virtue. Had their Designs succeeded, *Brutus* would have been as much a better Governor of the State than *Cassius*, as *Caesar* than *Antonius*. *Cn. Domitius,*

tius, Father of *L. Domitius*, who lately lived among us, a Man of a most generous and noble Integrity, and Grandfather to the present illustrious *Cn. Domitius*, seized upon some Ships, and with a numerous Attendance, which followed his Measures, committed himself to the Fortune of a Flight, being content to be the Leader of a Party. *Staius Murcus*, who was Admiral of the Navy, went over with that Part of the Army and Shipping which he commanded, to *Sex. Pompeius*, Son to him who was surnamed the Great, who had seized upon *Sicily* by Force of Arms, in his return from *Spain*. Many came over to him from *Brutus's* Camp, *Italy*, and other Parts of the Empire, whose Fortune had withdrawn them from the present Danger: For any General served them who had no Habitations of their own, since Fortune did not grant them the Liberty to choose, but only pointed out a poor Retreat for them; even a common Road being a Port to those who are flying from the dreadful Storm.

C H A P. LXXIII.

The Character and Actions of Sextus Pompeius: He infests the Seas, and maintains himself and his Army by Piracy.

THIS young Man was unpolished with Learning, and barbarous in his Language; of a very audacious Temper, great Activity of Body, and Precipitation in his Resolutions, very unlike his Father in his Sincerity. He was a Servant to his freed Men, and a Slave to his Servants. He envied Men of any Worth and Reputation, that he might submit to those of none. The Senate, which consisted chiefly of the *Pompeian* Faction, and those who enclined to that Party, had recall'd him from *Spain*, (where *Afinius Pollio*, of the *Prætorian* Order, had opposed him in a very vigorous War) after *Antonius's* Retreat from *Mutina*, at the same Time when the Transmarine Provinces were decreed to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and restored him to his Father's Estate, and gave him the Command of the Sea-Coast. When he had possess'd himself of *Sicily* (as I have mentioned) he list'd all the Slaves and Fugitives
into

into his Army, and by those means filled up a very great Number of Legions. He infested the Sea with Robbery, by his Admirals *Mæna* and *Menecrates*; and made use of Rapine for the Support and Maintenance of himself and of his Army, and was not ashamed to Ravage the Sea with Piracies, which was cleared from it before, by the Arms and Conduct of his Father.

C H A P. LXXIV.

Anthony remains in Greece, after the Defeat of Brutus; Cæsar returns to Rome. Lucius Antonius, and Fulvia stir up new Broils in Italy; Pereria burnt.

THE Faction of *Brutus* and *Cassius* being now broken, *Antonius* carries behind to possess himself of the Provinces beyond Sea, while *Cæsar* returns into *Italy*, and finds it in a much greater Confusion than he expected. For the Consul, *L. Antonius*, who had all the Failings of his Brother, but not one of the Virtues which sometimes discovered themselves in him, what by arraigning *Cæsar* to the Veteran Troops, and incensing those to
Arms

Arms who had lost their Estates in the Division of the Fields, (new Colonies being sent to possess them) had raised very considerable Forces. On the other hand, *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antonius*, who had nothing of the Woman about her, but her Person, filled all Places with Violence and Riot, and chose *Præneste* for the Seat of her War. But *Antonius* being every where repulsed by the Forces of *Cæsar*, retired to *Perusia*. *Plancus*, a Favourer of *Antonius's* Faction, gave him Hopes of Succours, rather than really assisted him. *Cæsar* making use of his Valour and Fortune, assaulted and carried *Perusia*, and discharged *Antonius* without Hurt. The Violence against the Inhabitants of that Place, proceeded from the Rage of the Soldiers, rather than the Consent of the General. The City was burnt by *Macedonicus*, the Governor of it, who setting Fire to his House, and all his Effects, ran himself through with a Sword, and cast himself into the Flame.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXXV.

A War raised in Campania, by Tib. Claudius Nero, but soon appeased by Cæsar. The Character and Actions of Livia, afterwards Wife to Augustus.

AT the same Time there began a War in Campania, which was encouraged by *Tiberius Claudius*, a Person of the Prætorian Order, a Priest, and the Father of *Tiberius Cæsar*, a Man of great Parts and Accomplishments; he profess'd himself a Patron of those who had lost their Lands: But this Commotion was soon dispell'd and broken by the arrival of *Cæsar*. Who can sufficiently admire the Revolutions of Fortune? The various Contingencies in all Human Affairs: Who would not fear or hope for any thing even different from what he possesses, or contrary to what he expects? *Livia*, the Daughter of *Drusus Claudianus*, (of the noblest Descent, and the greatest Courage) a Lady of the most illustrious Family, of the most eminent Beauty and Probity of any in *Rome*, the Consort of *Augustus* afterwards; and when he was admitted among the Gods, honoured

honoured with being his Priestess; her we behold flying from the Arms of that *Cæsar* (who was once to be her own) bearing in her Bosom the young *Tiberius*, the Restorer of the *Roman Empire*, the Son afterwards of the same *Cæsar*, but then not two Years old, through the most obscure Ways, on purpose to avoid the Swords of the Soldiers, and with one Attendant, the more easily to conceal her Flight, came to the Sea, and with her Husband *Nero* is carried into *Sicily*.

C H A P. LXXVI.

The Death of Caius Velleius; Fulvia and Plancus retire to Anthony. Anthony returns to Italy; a Peace between him and Cæsar concluded at Brundisium.

THE Testimony I would in justice allow a Stranger, I must not deny to my own Grandfather. *C. Velleius*, who was elected by *Cn. Pompeius* into a very honourable Post among the Three hundred and sixty Judges, and was Supervisor of the Artificers to him, to *Marcus Brutus*, and to *Tiberius Nero*, a Man inferior to none, when he had arrived

Of Velleius Paterculus. 169

arriv'd at a great Age, and a decayed Constitution, and could not follow the Train of *Nero* when he left *Naples*, whose Cause he favour'd, by reason of a particular Intimacy with him, fell himself upon his own Sword; *Cesar* permitted *Fulvia* to depart from *Italy*, without any Violence, and allow'd *Plancus* to attend upon her in her Flight: For *Pollio Asinius*, having with seven Legions retain'd *Venetia* in the Power of *Antonius*, and perform'd some specious and gallant Exploits about *Altinum*, and other Cities of that Country, being in quest of *Antonius*, met by Chance with *Domitius*, who, we said, had left the Camp after the Death of *Brutus*, and made himself Admiral of his own Fleet, whom when he had given him his Faith, he brought over to *Antonius*. By this Action, whoever equally considers it, will confess, that *Pollio* had laid as strong an Obligation upon *Antonius*, as *Antonius* did after upon *Pollio*. The quick arrival of *Antonius* in *Italy*, and the Preparations of *Cesar* to oppose him, gave Occasion to fear a War, but a Peace was struck up at *Brundisium*: Among these Transactions, the impious Designs of *Rufus Salvidienus* were discover'd, a Person of the low-
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est Descent, who thought it too mean an Honour to enjoy the highest Post in the State, to be chosen Consul next to *Pompeius* and *Cæsar* himself, of the Equestrian Order, unless he did arrive to that Height from whence he might have look'd down upon *Cæsar*, and upon the Commonwealth it self.

C H A P. LXXVII.

A Peace concluded at Misenum, with Sextus Pompeius, by which the Proscrib'd are restor'd, and Sicily and Achaia allotted to Pompey. The Death of Staius Murcus.

THERE was a Peace at that Time concluded by *Pompeius* at *Misenum*, upon the general Sollicitations of the People, who were severely oppress'd by a Scarceness of Corn, because the Sea was dangerous. He very appositely express'd himself, when he had *Cæsar* and *Antonius* at an Entertainment on Shipboard, *That he would feast them in his Keel*, alluding to the Name of the Street where his Father's House stood, now in the Possession of *Antonius*. By the Articles of this Peace, *Sicily* and *Achaia* were allotted to *Pompey*,
but

but this was far from giving him Satisfaction. The only Benefit he brought to his Country by his arrival, was, that he procur'd a short return to all that were proscrib'd, and others who fled to him upon any Pretence whatsoever: Upon this Assurance, many eminent Men were restor'd to the Commonwealth. *Nero Claudius, M. Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Aruncius Attius*; but *Staius Murcus*, who by his own, and the additional Power of a fine Navy, had doubled his Forces, upon a Suspicion of Misdemeanors, because *Mena* and *Menecrates* could not bear such a Man a Partner in Office, was slain by the Hand of *Pompey* in *Sicily*.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

Anthony's Marriage with Octavia, the Sister of Cæsar; Labienus having slain Anthony's Lieutenant in Syria, is overthrown by the Conduct of Ventidius. A severe Example of Justice in Spain, against a Centurion.

IN this Tract of Time, *M. Antonius* married *Octavia*, the Sister of *Cæsar*. *Pompey* return'd into *Sicily*, and *An-*

tonius into the Provinces beyond the Seas, which were severely harrafs'd by *Labienus* going over from the Camp of *Brutus* to the *Parthians*, by carrying his Army into *Syria*, and killing the Lieutenant of *Antonius*: But he (with the Power of the *Parthians*, and the gallant *Pacorus*, the King's Son) was overthrown by the Valour and Conduct of *Ventidius*. *Cæsar* in the mean time, least Idleness (a fatal Enemy to Discipline) should corrupt his Soldiers, harden'd his Army to a Patience of Dangers, and the Experience of War, by frequent Expeditions into *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*. At the same time, *Calvinus Domitius*, who in his Consulship had the Province of *Spain* allotted him, gave us an Example of greatest Weight, and comparable to the Discipline of former Ages: For a Centurion of the first Rank, one *Vibullius*, who had fled upon the first Engagement, he commanded to be beat to Death with a Club.

C H A P. LXXIX.

War declar'd against Sextus Pompeius. Tiberius Nero surrenders his Wife Livia to Cæsar, who marries her. Marcus Agrippa his Character. Pompey being overthrown by Cæsar, flies to Anthony, and is by his Command slain.

THE Fame and the Fleet of Pompey daily increasing, Cæsar resolved to undertake the Weight of that War. M. Agrippa was appointed to take care of the Building of the Ships, to provide Seamen and Soldiers for the Service; to exercise them in Naval Conflicts and Engagements. He was a Person of the most eminent Virtue, invincible by Labour, watching all Dangers; very ready to obey one Commander, but ambitious to Rule over others; above all Things, averse to Delays, and joining Execution with his Resolves: When he had fitted out a gallant Fleet in the Lakes of *Avernus* and *Lucrinum*, by his Discipline and frequent Exercises, he made the Mariner and the Soldier very expert for the Sea or Land Service. With this Fleet, Cæsar

(when he had by the Consent of Nero,

her Husband, married *Livia* with the usual Ceremony) carried the War upon *Pompey*, into *Sicily*: But Fortune at that Time gave a terrible Blow to a Man who was invincible by any human Power: For a strong Wind from the South, near *Velia*, and the Promontory of *Palinurus*, broke and scatter'd the greatest Part of the Fleet. This occasion'd a Delay in the carrying on of that War, which was afterward manag'd with various Success; the Fleet, in the very same Place, was again tore by a Tempest; and as by the Conduct of *Agrippa*, the Event was prosperous near *Myle*, so by the unexpected Approach of the Enemies Navy, there was a great Overthrow near *Tauromenium*, under the very Eyes of *Cæsar*, he hardly escaping himself. The Legions which were with *Cornificius*, the Lieutenant of *Cæsar*, as soon as they were landed, were almost all cut off by *Pompey*: But the Misfortune of that Accident was soon retrieved by a prudent Conduct; for the Fleet on both Sides being open'd, *Pompey* was forsaken by almost all his Navy, and fled into *Asia*, where, by the Command of *M. Antonius*, whose Assistance he entreated whilst he acted now part of a Com-

a Com-

a Commander, and now of a Suppliant; sometimes insisting upon his Authority, and then begging for his Life, he had his Throat cut by *Titius* : Upon *Antonius* the *Odium* procur'd by this Action was so great, that he was driven from the Plays he celebrated in the Theatre of *Pompey*, by the Execrations of the People.

C H A P. LXXX.

Cæsar recalls Lepidus from Africk, to join his Forces against Pompeius. His Behaviour and Insolence to Cæsar, who deprives him of his Honours and Commands, but generously spares his Life.

CÆsar, in his carrying on of the War against *Pompey*, sent for *Lepidus* out of *Africa*, with twelve Legions which had but half their Number : This Man, a Person of the greatest Vanity, and no way by his Conduct deserving so long an indulgence of Fortune, join'd to himself the Army of *Pompey*, (because he was nearer to them) who follow'd not his, but the Authority and Faith of *Cæsar* : Proud with the Attendance of more than twenty Legions, he was so vainly mad, that

that he ascribed the whole Fortune of the Success to himself, tho' he was no more than a superfluous Attendant of another's Victory, always dissenting from *Cæsar* in the Council, and declaring himself contrary to the unanimous Resolves of others. This Man had the Impudence to command *Cæsar* to depart from *Sicily*. Not the *Scipio*'s, or the Bravest of the *Roman* Heroes have attempted or executed any thing nobler than *Cæsar* did at that time : for he went unarm'd, wrapped in his Cloak, having nothing but his Name with him, into the Camp of *Lepidus* ; and when he had escaped the Darts that were discharged at him, by the command of that infamous Man, when his Cloak had been thrust through with a Lance, he seized the Eagle of the Legion. Now you might plainly see the Difference between the Generals ; the Armed follow the Unarmed, and the tenth Year after *Lepidus* arriv'd at such an Exorbitancy of Power, being forsaken by his Soldiers and his Fortune, in a poor Cloak, and sculking among the last of those who stood gazing at *Cæsar*, he threw himself along at his Feet ; his Life, and the Possession of his private Estate was granted him, but he was depriv'd

of Velleius Paterculus. 177
priv'd of his Dignity, because he knew
not how to support it.

C H A P. LXXXI.

*A Mutiny of the Soldiers repress'd by the
Bounty of Cæsar. Agrippa, for his Ser-
vices in the late War, obtains the Honour
of a Naval Crown.*

THE sudden Mutiny of the Army
(who reflecting upon their Numbers,
oft revolt from Discipline, and because
they think they can oblige, are impatient
to ask) was partly quieted by the Se-
verity, and partly by the Liberality of the
Prince; there was bestowed on him for
that time, a specious Supplement of the
Colony of *Campania*; the Revenues of it
belong'd to the Publick, but twelve hun-
dred thousand Sesterces were paid in the
room of it, from the Island of *Crete*, and
a Water-Work was promised, which is a
great Benefit to the City, and to this Day
singularly wholesome and pleasant. *Agrip-
pa* in this War, for his excellent Conduct,
deserv'd the honour of a Naval Crown,
which no one of the *Romans* had ever yet
bestow'd upon them; *Cæsar* afterward re-
turning

turning a Conqueror into the City, profess'd that he design'd several Houses, that were purchased by his Agents, to enlarge his own for the Use of the State; he promis'd to raise a Temple to *Apollo*, and Galleries about it, which he performed with exquisite Munificence.

C H A P. LXXXII.

Anthony passes through Armenia, and with thirteen Legions invades the Parthians. He loses a great Part of his Army, and narrowly preserved the rest, by the Faithfulness and Advice of a Roman Slave. He resolves to fight with Cæsar.

THE time when *Cæsar* was so prosperous against *Lepidus* in *Sicily*, Fortune successfully engaged in the East for his Cause and for the Commonwealth; for *Antonius*, with thirteen Legions entring *Armenia* and *Media*, and through those Countries making his Way to the *Parthians*, met with the King: In the first Attack he lost two Legions, all his Carriages and Artillery, and *Statianns* his Lieutenant. Soon after himself, with the hazard of his whole Army, engag'd in those Dangers,

Dangers, from which he despair'd to escape; and having lost no less than a fourth Part of his Men, he was preserv'd by the Advice and Fidelity of a *Roman* Captive, who was taken in the Defeat of the *Crassian* Army. This Man (having retain'd his Honour, tho' he chang'd his Fortune) came by Night to the *Roman* Camp, and inform'd them that they should not pursue the Journey they intended, but go another Way through the Woods. This Intelligence was the Preservation of *M. Antonius* and all his Legions; of whom notwithstanding, and of his whole Army, a fourth Part at least of the Soldiers, and a third of the Slaves, and those who follow'd the Camp, were lost; yet *Antonius*, because he escaped alive, called this Flight of his a Victory. The third Summer after returning into *Armenia*, he surpriz'd *Artavasdes*, the King of it, by a Stratagem, and laid him in Chains; but because he would not degrade his Majesty, they were of Gold. His love to *Cleopatra* breaking out into a Flame, and his Vices (which are always fomented by Licence, Flattery and Greatness) growing more impetuous, he resolved to carry a War into his Country, when he had before command-
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ed himself to be called the New *Liber Pater*; and being adorned with Ivy, and bound with a Golden Crown, with the *Thyrſus* in his Hand, and Buskins upon his Legs, was carried in his Chariot at *Alexandria* like the God *Bacchus*.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

Plancus falls off from Anthony to Cæſar. His Behaviour and Character after his Revolt.

AMONG all this Provision of War, *Plancus*, not from a conviction of his Judgment, or for a love for the Commonwealth, or for *Cæſar* (for theſe he always oppoſed) but infected as with a Diſeaſe, became a Villain, after he had been the moſt fawning Flatterer of the Queen, and a Retainer to her, below the meaneſt of her Servants, when he had been the Secretary of *Antonius*, the Inventer and Pander to the obſceneſt of his Pleaſures, a Mercenary Wretch in all his Offices, and to all who employ'd him; when he had ſhew'd himſelf naked, and in a Sky Blew, his Head being bound with Reeds, and drawing a Tail after him, he perſonated

Glaucus

Glaucus, leaping about upon his Knees. Being reprov'd by *Antonius* at an Entertainment, for many plain Instances of Ex-tortion, he fled to *Cæsar*; he ascribed the Clemency of the Conqueror to his own Virtue, and would say, that *Cæsar* would have Experience of Persons before he pardoned. *Titius* soon imitated this Uncle of his; *Coponius*, a Man of the Præ-torian Order, and of a great Character, the Father-in-Law of *Silius*, I think, spoke handsomely, when *Plancus*, upon his De-fertion, was upbraiding *Antonius* to the Senate with many heinous Enormities: *Methinks*, says he, *Antonius did very many Things the Day before you left him.*

C H A P. LXXXIV.

Cæsar's and Pompey's Naval Preparations against the Battle that was fought at Acti-um. The Order and Disposition of both the Navies.

IN the Consulship of *Cæsar*, and *Messa-la Corvinus*, was the Fight at *Acti-um*, where the *Julian* Party had the plain Presages of Victory, long before the En-gagement. On one Side, the Soldier and
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the Commander were lively ; on the other, all Things were faint ; the Seamen here were brisk, and in heart, there they were most severely oppress'd with Want : Here the Ships were smaller, and made for Speed, there of a larger, and more unweildy Size : From this Side, not a Man fled to *Antonius*, from that to *Cæsar* they deserted daily ; in short, at the very Head, and before the Face of the *Antonian* Fleet, *Leucas* was assaulted by *M. Agrippa*, *Patraë* was taken, *Corinth* seized upon, and twice before the last Engagement, was the Fleet of the Enemy beaten : King *Amyntas* followed the most safe and commodious Course (for *Deillius* was the same Man as when he fled from *Dolabella* to *Cassius*) and *Cn. Domitius*, a most excellent Man, who alone of the *Antonian* Party, never saluted the Queen but by her Name, with the greatest Danger and Difficulty came over to *Cæsar*.

C H A P.

C H A P. LXXXV.

Cæsar triumphs. Cleopatra flies away, and Anthony soon follows her. Pompey's Forces by Land surrender themselves to Cæsar.

AN D now came on the Day of the greatest Importance, wherein *Cæsar* and *Antonius*, having drawn out their Fleets, engaged the one for the Safety, the other for the Destruction of the whole World. The Right Squadron of the *Julian* Navy was committed to *M. Larius*; to *Aruntius* the Left; and to *Agrippa* the sole Management of the Action; *Cæsar* was to be every where, in every Part where Fortune called him: The Fleet of *Antonius* was delivered to the Conduct of *Sossius* and *Publicola*: The Land Forces of *Cæsar* were commanded by *Taurus*, of *Antonius*, by *Canidius*. When the Engagement began, on the one side, every thing was well order'd, there was an Admiral, Seamen, and Soldiers; on the other was nothing but Soldiers. *Cleopatra* was the first that fled; *Antonius* chose rather to attend the Flight of the Queen, than stand by his own Men, so bravely engaged; and of a General who should punish De-

serters with a Severity, he became a Deserter of his own Army : The Soldiers very resolutely maintain'd the Fight, and died bravely when they despair'd of the Victory ; *Cæsar* was willing to spare those he could have destroy'd with the Sword : He call'd to 'em, and shewing them that *Antonius* was fled, demanded for whom, and with whom they would now fight : They, when they perceiv'd they had fought some time for their absent General, with great Reluctancy threw down their Arms, and gave up the Victory, and *Cæsar* assured them of Life and Pardon, sooner than they could resolve to ask him. It is certain the Soldiers acted the Part of the best Commander, and the Commander of the most cowardly Soldier, so that you'd question whether he who directed his Flight by the Will of *Cleopatra*, would not have used the Victory as she had pleased to direct. The Army on Land took the same Course, when *Canidius* convey'd himself by a hasty Flight to *Antonius*.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

Cæsar's great Moderation and Clemency, after he had obtained the Victory. Pollio's remarkable Behaviour to him, by whose Favour he obtain'd his Life.

WH O can offer to express, within the Compass of this short Discourse, the Advantages the World received on that Day, and to what a happy State the publick Fortune was restored? The Victory was managed with the greatest Clemency; nor was any one killed, besides a few who would not cry Quarter: From this Lenity of the General, we may easily collect what a Moderation he would have us'd in his Victories in the beginning of his Triumvirate, or in the *Philippian* Fields, if it had been within his own Power. But the Fidelity of *Aruntius*, a Person of celebrated Gravity, and *Cæsar*, when he had had a long Conflict with his own Clemency, gave *Sofus* his Life. I must not omit the memorable Action, and worthy Saying of *Asinius Pollio*; for when he had retired into *Italy*, after the *Brundusian* Peace, and neither had ever seen the Queen, or en-

gaged in the Party of *Antonius*, after he had debased his Mind with his Pleasures, *Cæsar* asking him to go with him to the *Actian* War. *My Merits* (says he) towards *Antonius*, are the greater, but his Favours to me are better known; I will therefore keep out of the Field, and reserve my self a Prey for the Conqueror.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

The Death of Anthony at Alexandria, and of Cleopatra soon after. Not one Roman put to Death by Cæsar's Command, of all that bore Arms against him.

THE next Year he pursued the Queen and *Antonius* to *Alexandria*, and put a final End to the Civil War. *Antonius* was not slow in killing himself, so that his Death seemed to atone for many Mis-carriages which were owing to his Inactivity. *Cleopatra* deceiving her Guard, procured an Aspick, and with an Intrepidity not usual in her Sex, died by the Sting of it. 'Twas very worthy the Fortune and Clemency of *Cæsar*, that not one of those who bore Arms against him were killed by him or his Command: For the Cruelty

Cruelty of *Antonius* took off *D. Brutus*; the same deprived *Sextus Pompeius* of his Life, tho' *Antonius* had promised that he should continue in his Dignity. *Brutus* and *Cassius* destroyed themselves, before they experienced the Clemency of the Conqueror. *Canidius* expired with a great deal more Fear than was consistent with his Character or Profession. The only one of the Murderers of *Cæsar* which remained, was *Cassius Parmensis*, who at last lost his Life for it, as *Trebonius* had done before.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

Lepidus conspires against *Cæsar*; designs to murder him at his Return to Rome; but is discover'd and vanquish'd by *Caius Marcellus*, Captain of the Guard. His Character.

WHILST *Cæsar* is putting an end to the *Ætian* and *Alexandrian* War, *M. Lepidus*, a Man of a much more agreeable Person than Disposition of Mind, and Son of *Lepidus* (who had been one of the *Triumviri* in composing the Affairs of the State) and of *Junia*, the Sister of *Brutus*

Brutus, had formed some Designs against *Caesar's* Life, upon his Return into the City. *C. Macenas* at that Time commanded the Guards of the City, a Man very active, careful and vigilant, when any Exigency required his Attendance; but when he was relieved from Business, dissolving in Luxury, and more soft and effeminate than a Woman. He was as dear to *Caesar* as *Agrippa*, tho' not so honourably respected. He contented himself with the Ornaments of the *Equestrian* Robes, and rather wanted an Inclination than a Power, to attain farther Promotion. He traced the Designs of this rash young Man, with the greatest Privacy and Closeness, and defeated them with admirable Expedition, without the least Confusion of Persons or Affairs; and so stifled the first Beginnings of a new Civil War. The Incendiary suffered Punishment for his base Intentions. *Servilia*, *Lepidus's* Wife, may be compared with *Calpurnia*, Wife to *Antistius*, whom we have mentioned; she threw her self into a Funeral Pile, and attoned for her hasty Death, by perpetuating her Memory by that Action to Posterity.

C H A P. LXXXIX.

Cæsar's magnificent Return to Rome ; the Manner of his Reception and Triumph ; a Plan of his future Government.

C*Æsar's Return into Italy and the City ; the Concourse and Acclamations of the People of all Ages and Conditions at his Reception, and the Magnificence of his Triumphs and Donations, would swell a Work of a much larger Compass, and therefore can't be confined to the Measures of this narrow Undertaking. Mankind could desire nothing more from the Gods, nor could they grant any thing more to Men. Nothing more could be hoped ; no farther Felicity conceived, than what Augustus in his Return bestow'd on the Commonwealth, the People, and the Empire in general. The Civil War, that had lasted twenty Years, was now ended, and Foreign ones extinguished ; Peace was again established, and the Rage and Violence of Arms suppress'd. The Force of the Laws, the Authority of the Judge, and the Majesty of the Senate was restored. The Command of the Magistracy was reduced to its former Extent,*

tent, only there were two Prætors added to the Eight which were before. The ancient Model of Government was revived. The Lands were now improved, the sacred Rites adored, Men were secure of themselves, and the Possession of their Estates. The old Laws were advantageously amended, and new ones enacted for the good of the Publick. The Senate was chosen without Violence, tho' the Elections were regular and strict. The great Men, who had born the Offices of State, and had been honoured with Triumphs, were induced by the Example of the Prince, to contribute toward the Ornaments of the City. He held the Consulship no more than eleven Times, tho' he often strenuously declined that Honour, and constantly rejected the Dictatorship, which the People as obstinately forced upon him. 'Twould be a Labour for an Author who bestowed his whole Time upon this one Subject, to relate the Wars he finished, his establishing the Peace of the Empire, and the glorious Works he compleated at Home and Abroad. For my Part, I am obliged to my Promise, and so have only placed a
short

short Representation of his Government
before the Eyes of my Reader.

C H A P. XC.

*Spain and Dalmatia, after a Rebellion of
220 Years, by Cæsar and Agrippa subdued
and settled in Peace.*

THE Civil Wars being expired (as
I have related) the Forces of the
State, which had been distracted by a
continued Series of Arms, began to unite
together. *Dalmatia*, after a Rebellion of
220 Years, was obliged to acknowledge
a Submission to his Command. The
Alps, famous for being the Seat of many
obstinate and warlike Nations, were sub-
dued. *Spain* was at last reduced to a
Peace, after a long and doubtful War,
by the Residence of *Cæsar*, and some-
times *Agrippa*, who was promoted by the
Favour of his Prince, to a third Consul-
ship, and a Participation of the Tribuni-
tian Power. The *Roman* Army was first
sent into this Province, in the Consulship
of *Scipio* and *Sempronius Longus*, in the first
Year of the second *Punic* War, under the
Command of *Scipio*, Uncle of *Africanus*:
This

This War was carried on 200 Years, with the Effusion of much Blood on both Sides : We sometimes lost our Generals and Armies, sometimes came off with Dishonour, and often with great Danger to the *Roman Empire*. This Province destroyed the *Scipio's*, and reproached our Ancestors with that disgraceful War, under their General *Viriathus*, which lasted for twenty Years. 'Twas from them that we were alarmed with the Fears of the *Numantian* Rebellion. With them the Senate dissolved the shameful Treaty of *Pompey*, and the more unworthy one of *Mancinus*, by the Disgrace of surrendering our General to their Pleasure. 'Twas there we lost so many Commanders of the Consular and Prætorian Order. They were the People who supported *Sertorius* with such Forces, that for five Years it could not be determined, whether the *Romans* or *Spaniards* were the better Soldiers, or which of them were to submit to the other. These Provinces, of so great an Extent, Number of People, and Force in Arms, were brought to so firm a Peace by *Cæsar Augustus*, fifty Years since, that the Country, which had never been free from War, was under C. *Antistius*, and after

after him *P. Silius* the Lieutenant, freed from the private Attempts of Robbers.

C H A P. XCI.

The Ensigns lost by Crassus and Anthony in the East, restor'd to Cæsar by the Parthians. Several Conspiracies against Cæsar detected, and the Authors of them punish'd.

WHILE the Western Part of the Empire is compos'd, the King of the *Parthians* delivered the *Roman* Ensigns which *Orodes* had taken upon the Defeat of *Crassus*, and those his Son *Phraates* had won from *Antonius*, to *Augustus*, which Title was confer'd upon him by the Motion of *Plancus*, and Concurrence of the Senate and People in general. But there were many who envied this Happiness of the State. *L. Muræna*, and *Fannius Cæpio*, Men of very different Dispositions (for *Muræna* had a very fair Character before, but *Cæpio* was always esteem'd a Villain) form'd a Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, but were suppress'd by publick Authority, and suffer'd themselves what they intended to execute upon another. Not long after, *Rufus Egnatius*, one
S who

who discovered more of a Gladiator than a Senator in every Instance of his Conduct, having contracted the Favour of the Populace in his *Ædileship*, and enlarged it by his Vigilance in composing the Divisions of some private Families to that Degree, that they continued him *Prætor*, and spirited him up to stand for the Consulship: He being under continual Alarms of Conscience for his Villanies, and the State of his Circumstances as desperate as the Designs of his Mind, procured a wicked Gang of his own Stamp, and resolved to kill *Cæsar*, being willing to die himself when he had destroyed him, since he knew his own Security was inconsistent with the Safety of the Emperor. For most People are of the Mind, to suffer rather in a common than private Calamity, because their Misfortunes are then the less taken notice of: But he had no better Success in covering his Treachery, than those before him: He was commanded to Prison, where he suffered a Death very agreeable to the Ignominy of his Life.

C H A P. XCII.

A Character of Sentius Saturninus; an Instance of his Bravery in opposing the Designs of Egnatius when he appeared a Candidate for the Consulship.

I Must not defraud the Conduct of *Sentius Saturninus*, who was Consul about this Time, of the Honour with which it ought to be mentioned. *Caesar* was Abroad, composing the Affairs of the East, and dispensing the Happiness of Peace in every Part of the Empire, by his Presence. *Sentius* happened to be sole Consul in his Absence, and proceeded with the Constancy and Severity of the ancient Magistrates. He detected the fraudulent Practices of the Masters of the Customs, punished their Avarice, conveyed the publick Taxes into the Treasury, and acted as chief Consul in the general Assemblies. Those who stood for the Quæstorship, he forbid to declare themselves, if he thought them unworthy of the Office; and when they persisted, threatened by his Consular Power to punish them, if they came into the Field. He ordered *Egnatius* (who flourish'd in the

Esteem of the People, and thought to succeed in the Office of Consul, as he had been advanced from that of an *Ædile* to the *Prætorship*) to desist; and when he found his Commands were slighted, he protested, that tho' the People should vote him Consul, he would not return him. This Action, I think, may be compared to the Glories of any preceding Consuls, only we naturally prefer what we hear from Report, to what we see, and pay Veneration to what's past, and envy every thing that's done before us, thinking the one obscures us with its Lustre, when we regard the other as a Subject for our Imitation.

C H A P. XCIII.

Marcellus, the Son of Octavia, the Sister of Cæsar, dies. Agrippa's return to Rome. He marries Julia, the Daughter of Cæsar, and late Wife of Marcellus.

THREE Years before the Designs of *Egnatius* were detected, about the Time of the Conspiracy of *Muræna* and *Cæpio*, 50 Years since, *M. Marcellus*, Son of *Octavia*, Sister to *Augustus*, who as it
 WAS

was thought by the People, would succeed *Augustus* if any Misfortune should take away his Life, tho' they supposed he would be resisted by *Agrippa* in his Advances to that Dignity ; when he had very honourably acquitted himself of the Office of *Ædile*, died very young. He was of a very virtuous Disposition, of a chearful and vigorous Temper, and capable of the great Fortune he was born to. *Agrippa* had retired into *Asia*, under Pretence of publick Business of Importance, tho' 'tis generally thought he retired from *Rome* upon Account of some private Distastes between himself and *Marcellus*. When he returned, he married *Julia*, Daughter to *Cesar*, who had before been Wife to *Marcellus* ; a Woman whose Progeny was neither advantageous to her self or the State.

C H A P. XCIV.

The Character of Tiberius Cæsar, He is called to the Administration of publick Affairs. He is sent into the East, enters Armenia, and reduces it into the Form of a Roman Province. The Parthian sends Hostages to Rome.

ABOUT this Time, *Tib. Claudius Nero* (who was three Years old when *Liuvia*, Daughter to *Drusus Claudianus* was married to *Cæsar*, upon her being resigned to him by her former Husband *Nero*) a Youth who was instructed in all the Precepts of divine Knowledge, and every way illustrious in the several Accomplishments of Descent, Personage, Majesty, Form, Proficiency in Learning, and Capacity of Understanding; one who at first gave Occasion for the World to expect that from him, which he has now attain'd to, and whose Presence spoke him a Prince, was admitted into the Affairs of State, in the 19th Year of his Age, by his bearing the Office of *Quæstor*. He supply'd us with Corn (when there was an extreme Want of it in the City, and at *Ostia*) by his Father-in-Law's Command, with

with such Success, as plainly discovered the Greatness he would one time arrive to. He was afterwards dispatched by his Grandfather, with an Army to visit and compose the Provinces in the East, where he gave very eminent Proofs of the Conduct of a General, entered *Armenia* with his Legions, reduced it to Subjection to the People of *Rome*, and gave the Sovereignty of it to *Artavasdus*. The King of the *Parthians* being alarmed with the Fame of his Greatness, sent his Children as Hostages to *Cesar*.

C H A P. XCV.

Tiberius returns from the East, is sent with his Brother Drusus Claudius against the Rhætians and Vindelicians, whom they conquer.

WHEN *Tiberius* returned, *Cesar* resolved to try if he could sustain the Difficulty of a more important War, and gave him his Brother *Drusus Claudius* (whom *Livia* bore to *Cesar* within his own Palace) to be his Assistant, dividing their Forces. They assaulted the *Rhætians* and *Vindelicians* at different Places, carried

carried many Cities and Fortresses by Siege, defeated their Armies in the open Field, and so subdued those Countries of the strongest Situation, most difficult Access, prodigious Number, and savage Barbarity, with greater Danger than Loss of the *Roman* Army, but the Effusion of a great deal of their Enemies Blood. Not long before this, was the dishonourable Censorship of *Plancus* and *Paullus*, who administered that Office with the greatest Contention, so that their Conduct was of no Service to themselves or the State, one wanting Authority, the other the Integrity of Life requisite in a Censor. *Paullus* could not support the Office himself, and *Plancus* must be sensible that he had all the Failings in himself, tho' old, which he reprov'd or could object to those that were young.

CHAP.

C H A P. XCVI.

*Julia, by her Husband Agrippa's Consent, is
surrender'd to Tiberius, who puts an hap-
py End to the Pannonian War, for which
he triumphs.*

THE Death of *Agrippa*, who had illustrated the Obscurity of his Descent by many noble Actions, and had raised himself so high as to be Father-in-Law to *Nero*, and to have his two Children adopted by their Grandfather *Augustus*, by the Names of *Caius* and *Lucius*, engaged *Nero* in a nearer Relation to *Cæsar*, since he now married *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Daughter, who had before been Wife to *Agrippa*. Soon after this, the *Pannonian War* (which was begun in the Consulship of *Agrippa*, and your Grandfather *Marcus Vinicius*) threatned *Italy* with imminent Danger, and was committed to the Management of *Nero*. We shall give an Account of the Country of the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, the Situation or their Provinces and Rivers, the Number and Power of their Forces, and the many signal Victories which this illustrious General gained over them, in another Place.

Place. But I must not exceed the Design of this Work. *Nero* having obtained this Success, was honoured with an Ovant Triumph.

C H A P. XCVII.

M. Lollius is beaten in Germany, and loses the Eagle of his Legion. The German War committed to Drusus, and at last finished by Tiberius. Drusus's Character and Death.

WHILE Affairs were thus happily carried on in this Part of the Empire, we received a very great Overthrow in *Germany*, under the Lieutenant *M. Lollius*, a Man ambitious of Riches, much more than of discharging his Duty, and of the most villainous Conduct, tho' he endeavoured to dissemble it. He lost the Ensign of the fifth Legion, which occasioned *Cesar's* Arrival from the City into *Gaul*. The Care and Importance of the *German War* was resigned to *Drusus Claudius*, Brother of *Nero*, a young Gentleman, who was possess'd of all the virtuous Accomplishments which human Nature can receive, or Industry attain to.

'Tis

'Tis difficult to determine whether his Abilities were better turn'd for the Affairs of War or Peace. He had an incomparable Sweetness and Humanity of Temper, and esteemed his Friend equal to himself. The Comeliness of his Person came nearest to that of his Brother. But the Malice of the Fates took him off in the Thirtieth Year of his Age, whilst he was Consul, when he had deserved the greatest Share of the Glory of reducing *Germany*, and spilling so much of the Blood of that Nation. The Weight of that War was now transferred upon *Nero*: He managed it with so great Valour and Success, that he carried his victorious Troops throughout *Germany*, without the least Danger or Loss to the Army (which was always the chief Care of this General) and subdued it so, that he reduced it almost into the Form of a Tributary Province. The Honours of a second Consulship, and a Triumph, were now bestow'd on him.

C H A P. XCVIII.

The Thracian War happily managed, and ended by Lucius Piso: A noble Character of him.

WHILST our Attempts succeed thus in *Pannonia* and *Germany*, a terrible War broke out in *Thracia*. The States of that Nation were all in Arms, but were suppress'd by the Bravery of *L. Piso*, who presides among us, a vigilant and mild Guardian of the Safety of the City. He commanded against them as *Cæsar's* Lieutenant for three Years, reduced those powerful Nations by Sieges and open Engagements, to their former Limits and Subjection, secured *Asia*, and composed *Macedonia* by his Conduct and Success. Every Body must acknowledge this of him, that his Temper, as it was actuated by Austerity, so it was softned with a great deal of Humanity. That there never was any one who had greater Inclinations to Retirement and Indolence, or more suitable Abilities for Business, or who really dispatched greater Affairs with less Appearance of Action.

C H A P.

C H A P. XCIX.

Tiberius, in the Height of all his Greatness, surrenders it up, and retires to Study at Rhodes. The Behaviour of the Roman Citizens to him at his Departure.

SOON after this, *Tib. Nero*, when he had been honour'd with two Consulships, and as many Triumphs, was promoted to an Equality with *Augustus*, in being advanced to a Share in the *Tribunian* Power, when he rose to be the greatest of the Citizens, except one (and that only because he would not rise above him) the most powerful of all Commanders, the most illustrious for his Character and Success, and esteemed the second great Light and Support of the Commonwealth; with an incredible Piety and good Nature (dissembling the Reasons of his Resolution) desired Leave of him who was his Wife's Father, and Mother's Husband, to retire from the Affairs of State, when *C. Caesar* was advanced, and *Lucius* almost arriv'd to Man's Estate, fearing least his Glory and Greatness might prejudice the rising Fame of those young Men. The mournful State of the City,

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upon

upon this Occasion, the Sorrows of the People, and Tears shed by every one at their parting from this great Man, I shall take notice of in a proper Place. But I must observe in this cursory Account, that he continued at *Rhodes* seven Years, with such Reputation, that the Lieutenants and Proconsuls who visited him in their Journey to the *Transmarine* Provinces, submitted their Ensigns of Honour to him in this private Recess (if such Grandeur may be stiled private) and acknowledged that *his Retirement was more Honourable than their Administration and publick Command.*

C H A P. C.

Parthia and Germany both fall off from their Allegiance. The scandalous Life, and Exile of Julia, with the Punishment of her great Favourites.

THE Empire was soon made sensible of *Nero's* Retreat from the Care of the City. For the *Parthians* disclaiming their Alliance with *Rome*, invaded *Armenia*; and *Germany*, now the Eyes of its Conqueror were diverted another Way, raised itself into Rebellion. But the same Year

Year in which the *Divine Augustus* (being Consul with *Gallus Caninius* about thirty Years since) did entertain the Eyes and Observation of the People of *Rome* with a Shew of Gladiators, and a Sea Engagement, at the Dedication of the Temple of *Mars*, an ignominious and horrid Piece of Villany broke out in his own Family : His Daughter *Julia*, forgetting the Honour and Reputation of so illustrious a Father, abandoned herself to all the Extravagancies that a Woman could fall into or act, by the Instigation of Lust or Luxury. She made the Greatness of her Fortune the Measure of her Infamy, resolving to maintain, that whatever she desired was lawful. *Iulus Antonius*, a singular Instance of the Clemency of *Cæsar*, and one who dishonoured his Family, became the Instrument himself of revenging his own Villany. When his Father was defeated, *Cæsar* did not only grant him his Life, but advanced him to the Dignity of High-Priest, Prætor, and Consul, honoured him with Provinces, and received him into an Alliance, by giving him his Sister's Daughter in Marriage. *Quinctius Crispinus* (who covered his Crimes with a dissembled Au-

sterity) *Appius Claudius*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Scipio*, and many others of both Orders (tho' they had debauched the Daughter of *Cæsar*, and Wife of *Nero*) suffered no greater Punishment than if they had defiled the Wife of an Inferior Person. *Julia* was banish'd to an Island far from the Sight of her Country and Parents. But her Mother *Scribonia* accompanied her, and continued with her in a voluntary Exile.

C. H A P. CI.

C. Cæsar is sent with an Army into the East, has an Interview with the King of Parthia: They mutually receive and entertain each other.

'T WAS not long after this, that *C. Cæsar* (who had before made an Expedition into the other Provinces) was sent into *Syria*, (having first had an Interview with *Tib. Nero*, whom he honoured in every Respect as his Superior) where his Conduct was so very uncertain, that as it afforded great Occasion for Praise, so it gave some Ground for Reflection on his Behaviour. He had a Conference with the King of the *Parthians*, an illustrious

strious Youth, in an Island in the *Euphrates*, the Guards which attended them being equal. This glorious and memorable Spectacle of the *Roman* and *Parthian* Armies standing on the opposite Banks of the River, when the Princes of the two most powerful Empires in the World met between them, I my self had the Fortune to see in my first Campaign, being then a Tribune of the Soldiers. I served in that Command, first of all, under your Father (illustrious *Vinicius*) and *P. Silius*, in *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, and soon after in *Achaia* and *Asia*. Then I made a Tour over the Provinces of the *East*, and the Coasts on both Sides the *Pontic* Sea. 'Tis with the greatest Satisfaction that I call to mind the Remembrance of so many Actions, Places, Countries and Cities. The *Parthian* was first entertain'd by *Caius* on our Side the River, and *Caius* afterwards was received by that King on the Enemies Shoar.

C H A P. CII.

M. Lollius his Conspiracy against Caius discovered. He kills himself. Caius wounded at a Treaty with the Parthian. Returning to Rome, he sickens and dies at Limyra, as did his Brother three Years before at Massilia.

ABOUT this Time the villanous Designs of *M. Lollius*, whom *Augustus* constituted Guardian to the young Princes, came to Light, being discovered to *Cesar* by a *Parthian*. The Contrivance of them betray'd the Treacherous and Crafty Temper of their Author: He died soon after, whether by Accident, or his own Choice, I can't determine. The publick Joy of the City for his Death, was interrupted by that of *Censorinus*, in the same Provinces. He seemed to be born to engage the Affections of all Mankind, whose Loss was very much lamented by the whole City. Caius entered *Armenia*, where at first his Conduct was successful. But not long after he received a violent Wound from one *Addius*, in a Conference which he very imprudently engaged himself in, near *Artagera*. Upon this, as his
Body

Body was weakened, so his Mind was enfeebled, and rendered less capable of acting for the publick Good. Neither was there wanting the Conversation of those Men (that are constant Attendants of the Great) who took Care to flatter and soothe him in his Vices; by which Means he was brought to that pass, that he chose to grow old in that obscure and remote Corner of the Empire, rather than return to *Rome*. He opposed all Reasons that were offered to alter his Opinion, with great Obstinacy, but at last yielded to 'em with much Unwillingness. He was upon his Journey to *Italy* when he was arrested by a Disease, which ended his Life, in a City of *Lycia*, call'd *Limyra*: His Brother, *L. Caesar*, died one Year before, at *Massilia*, in his Journey to *Spain*.

C H A P. CIII.

*Tiberius Cæsar is adopted by Augustus.
The incredible Joy of the Roman Citizens
upon his Adoption.*

FORTUNE, which had just suppress'd the Hopes of a rising Name, on a sudden restored its Security to the State.

State. Before the Death of either of the Princes, the Return of *Tiberius Nero* from *Rhodes*, filled his Country with universal Joy, in the Consulship of your Father *P. Vinicius*. *Cesar Augustus* did not stay long before he determined. He was not to enquire whom he should elect, but to elect him that was most worthy. So that he now resolved to execute what he had proposed upon the Death of *Lucius* (tho' *Gaius Caesar* was then living) and would certainly have then effected it, had not *Nero* earnestly resisted it; and tho' he still refused it both at Home and in the open Senate, *Augustus* did invest him with a Partnership in the *Tribunitian* Power, and adopted him, in the Consulship of *Ælius Cato* and *Sentius*, upon the Calends of *July*, seven hundred fifty and four Years after the building of the City, and twenty seven Years ago: The Rejoicings of that Day, the Concourse of the People, who (as I may say) did Violence to Heaven by their Praises, and the Hopes which were conceived, of the lasting Security and Glory of the *Roman* Empire, are Subjects which I could scarce relate in a particular Work, and shall not offer to illustrate them in this confined Treatise, but
content

content my self with declaring, that he was dear to every one. The Parents had now a joyful Prospect of the Security of their Children; the Husbands of their Wives; the Gentry of their Estates, and all Conditions of Men, of Rest, Peace, and Tranquillity, so that as nothing more could be hoped for, so no Desires could be more happily answered.

C H A P. CIV.

Agrippa, the Son of Julia, is adopted the same Day with Tiberius, by Augustus. Tiberius has the Command given him of the German War : He is received by the Army with the greatest Joy.

M. *Agrippa*, whom *Julia* bore since the Death of her Husband, was adopted the same Day : But in the Instrument of *Nero's* Adoption, this Clause was inserted, *I do it for the good of the State*. Not long did his Country suffer him to abide in the City, but dispatched him into *Germany*, where a terrible War broke out under your illustrious Grandfather *M. Vinius*, who sometimes successfully engaged the Enemy, sometimes as bravely bore their

their Attacks. Upon which Account, Triumphal Ornaments, with Inscriptions of his glorious Exploits, were assigned him. 'Twas in this Juncture that I serv'd under the Command of *Tiberius Caesar*, when I had before been Master of the Camp. For immediately after his Adoption, I was sent with him into *Germany*, a Captain of Horse, succeeding in the Post of my Father; and either in that Quality, or as Lieutenant, I was a Witness, and as far as my small Abilities would give me leave, an Assistant of his glorious Exploits for nine successive Years. Nor do I believe it possible for any Man to enjoy a more pleasing or fortunate View than I always had before me: When throughout the noblest Part of *Italy*, and the whole Extent of the Provinces of *Gaul*, every one crouded once more to see their old General, (who was *Caesar* in Merit and Reputation before he received the Title) and congratulated themselves for their Happiness, rather than him for the Accession of his Honours. The Soldiers burst into Tears for Joy at the Sight of him, discovered an uncommon Passion and Alacrity to salute him; rushed on with Violence to touch his Hand, and could not

not contain such Expressions as these : *Do we again behold our illustrious General ? Is he arrived safe among us ? And then, I was with you (great Sir) in Armenia, I in Rhetia, (another would say) I had the Honour of a Reward from you among the Vindelici ; and I, says a third, received the same in Pannonia ; a fourth would assert his being applauded by him in Germany.*

C H A P. CV.

Several Nations in Germany conquered by Tiberius : He returns to Rome, and commits the Management of the War to Saturninus : His Character.

IT can't be expressed in Words, and perhaps it will seem incredible to some, how upon his very Entrance into Germany, the *Caninefates*, *Attuarij*, and *Brueteri* were subdued ; the *Cherusci* received into Subjection, and the River *Visurgis* (I wish it less famous for our Defeat near it soon after) was passed, the Countries beyond it penetrated by our Armies. *Cæsar* assum'd to himself the dangerous and difficult Part of the War, and employed *Sentius Saturninus*, who was
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then

then his Father's Lieutenant in *Germany*, in Matters of less Importance. He was a Man of various Accomplishments, vigorous, active, and prudent, patient under, and very skilful in the Execution of all Military Duties. His leisure Hours, (when he had any) he spent in Indolence and Pleasure ; but so, that he appeared rather magnificent and liberal, than luxurious and idle. I have already spoken of his illustrious Consulship. The Action of that Summer, which was protracted even to *December*, added a noble Encrease to the *Roman* Victories. The Piety of *Cæsar* call'd him to the City, when the *Alps* were almost impassable with Snow, and the Care of the Empire brought him back to *Germany*, in the beginning of the Spring. He had disposed his Army in Winter-Quarters in the middle of that Country, at the Head of the River *Lupia*.

C H A P.

C H A P. CVI.

Tiberius's successful Expedition into Germany, which is wholly subdued by him. The Roman Fleet joins the Land-Forces on the Banks of the Elbe.

HEAVENS! what Subjects for a Volume did we perform in the following Summer, under the Command of *Tiberius Cæsar*! We surveyed *Germany* with our Arms, subdued Nations whose Names we never heard of. The Countries of the *Cauchi* we received into Subjection. The Youth of their Country, of a prodigious Number, Gigantick Stature, and well defended by the natural Strength of their Seats, surrounded with a glittering Company of our Soldiers in Arms, fell prostrate before the Tribunal of our General. The *Longobardi* were reduced, a Nation which exceeded the *Germans* in their Cruelty. In short, we acted what was never conceived in Imagination, or attempted before to be performed. The *Roman Army*, with their Ensigns, march'd four hundred Miles beyond the *Rhine*, as far as the River *Albis*, which flows near the Borders of the *Semnonēs* and *Hermunduri*.

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The Fleet, by the admirable Fortune and Care of our General, and his strict Observance of the Seasons, was conducted into the River *Albis*, by a Sea, whose Name we never heard of. It joined itself to our Army, bringing with it the Spoils of many conquered Nations, and a plentiful Quantity of Provision.

C H A P. CVII.

A great Compliment pay'd to Cæsar by a Barbarian. He settles his Soldiers in their Winter-Quarters, and returns to Rome.

I Can't refrain inserting this Circumstance, however it be received. Our Camp had taken up the nearer Banks of the River, the opposite Side shone brightly with the armed Numbers of the Enemy, who retired upon every Motion of our Navy. One of the Barbarians, who seemed to be in Years, of a very comely Presence, and of considerable Note, as appeared from his Habit, put himself on board a small Vessel, hallowed out of the Body of a Tree, according to the Custom of that People, directing the little Boat himself. When he had sailed into the middle

middle of the River, he intreated he might have leave, without Danger, to land upon the Bank, which was covered with our Camp, and to see *Cæsar*. He had leave given him as he desired; he then pushed up his Boat, and when he had a long Time beheld *Cæsar* with Silence: *Our Youth*, said he, *are infatuated, in that they adore your Majesty when absent, and now you are arrived amongst them, they dread your Arms, rather than submit to them. I have (Cæsar) by your Favour and Permission, this Day seen the Gods I had before known only by Report: And therefore I account this the happiest Day I ever enjoyed or wished for in my Life.* Having obtain'd leave to touch his Hand, he returned to his Vessel, and constantly looking back on *Cæsar*, he was carried to his own Shoar. *Cæsar* being now Conqueror of all the Nations he approached, without the least Damage or Loss of the Army, and no more than once by Stratagem attempted by the Enemy, and then to their great Disadvantage, brought back his Legions to their Winter-Quarters, and returned to the City with the same Expedition he had used in the preceding Year.

C H A P. CVIII.

All Germany subdued, except the Marcomanni. The Character of their Leader, Maroboduus, who designs to oppose the Romans.

THERE was now nothing remaining in *Germany* to be conquered, except the Nation of the *Marcomanni*, which leaving their own Seats, retired into the inmost Recesses of the Country, under the Conduct of *Maroboduus*, and lived in the Plains, surrounded by the *Hercynian Woods*. My haste cannot excuse me, if I omit mentioning this Person. He was of an illustrious Descent, great Strength of Body, and Vigour of Mind, barbarous rather by the Place of his Birth, than any Cruelty of his Temper. His Government was not violent, precipitate, or precarious, but was founded on a Satisfaction of his Subjects under it. When he had invested himself in the Sovereignty, he entrenched his People far from the *Romans*, that by retiring from a more powerful Enemy, he might render his own Army the more formidable. When he had put himself into Possession of these
Places,

Places, he either subdued all his Neighbours by Force of Arms, or brought 'em to submit to his Authority on more peaceable Conditions.

C H A P. CIX.

Maroboduus levies a numerous Army, sends Ambassadors to Rome, and strikes a Terror in the Roman Frontiers. Tiberius and Saturninus enter into his Country two several Ways, in order to attack him.

HIS Body was under the Protection of a Guard, and his Army, by continual Exercise, was advanced towards the Form of the *Roman Discipline*, and became very terrible to us: His Conduct to the *Romans* was such, that he neither provoked us to War, nor seemed to want Forces to oppose us, in case we should urge him to it. The Embassador he sent to *Cesar*, sometimes spoke of him as a Petitioner, and at other Times as an Equal. He was the Refuge of all Nations and People which revolted from us, and by dissembling his Power, advanced himself into a Rival of our Empire. His Army, which was made up of Seventy thousand

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Foot,

Foot, and Four thousand Horse, was prepared for greater Actions than he at that Time had in View, by constant Hostilities against his Neighbours. He was the more formidable, by having *Germany* upon his Left Hand and in his Front, *Pannonia* on his Right; and the *Norici* in his Rear. All these Nations stood in fear of him, lest he should march his Forces against any of them. Neither did the Grandeur of *Italy* secure it from the dread of him: For the Confines of his Empire were not above Two hundred Miles distant from the top of the *Alps*, which terminate the Extent of *Italy*. *Tib. Caesar* design'd to attack him and his Country from several Parts at once; *Sentius Saturninus* was disposed to carry his Legions through the Country of the *Chatti*, and then by cutting down the *Hercynian* Woods to open a Passage for them into *Boiobadum*; (that was the Name of the Country which *Maroboduus* possessed) he himself designed to assault the *Marcomanni* from *Carnuntum*, the nearest Place to the Kingdom of the *Noricians* on this Side, with the Army which served in *Illyricum*.

C H A P. CX.

The Rebellion of Dalmatia puts some Stop to the Resolutions of the Generals. The Roman Empire in Danger of being overthrown by the Number of the Enemy.

FORTUNE sometimes defeats, often diverts the Designs of Men. *Cæsar* had fixt his Winter-Quarters near the *Danube*, and brought up his Army within five Days Journey of the foremost of the Enemy: He had commanded *Sentius Saturninus*, whose Forces were at the same Distance, to come up and join him in the before-mentioned Place: When *Pannonia* growing insolent upon a long Fruition of Peace, and *Dalmatia* being grown very powerful, invited all the Nations in those Parts into their Alliance, and determined to put themselves in Arms. The Prospects of Glory were now superseded by the commands of Necessity. It was not thought adviseable, that the Army should lie in a distant Country, and *Italy* be left open to an approaching Enemy. The Kingdoms and Nations which rebelled, amounted to more than Eight hundred thousand Men. There were near Two hundred

hundred thousand Foot in regular Arms, and Nine thousand Horse. This immense Multitude was commanded by valiant and experienced Generals; part of them were to invade *Italy* on the Side they lay upon, in the Confines of *Nauportum* and *Tergestes*; another Body had poured themselves into *Macedonia*; a third was left for a Defence of their own Country. The chief Command was given to the two *Batto's*, and *Pinetus* the Generals. The *Pannonians* were not instructed only in the Discipline of the *Romans*, but were acquainted with their Language too. A great many of them made Learning, and the Improvements of the Mind, the usual Employment of their Time. Never did any Nation pursue their Resolutions for War, with more sudden Preparations, or execute them with greater Expedition. The *Roman* Citizens were oppressed; their Merchants killed; a great Number of their Standard-bearers were massacred in that part of the Country which was farthest distant from their General. *Macedonia* was over-ran with their Arms; every Thing fell a Sacrifice to Fire and Sword. So great was the Horror and Dread of this War, that it terrify'd and shook

shook the Soul even of *Caesar Augustus*, which had been inured to Constancy by the Experience of so many dangerous Battles.

C H A P. CXI.

Great Preparations made by Augustus and Tiberius, to oppose the Enemy. Tiberius, by the common Voice of the People, is elected General. His Actions and Behaviour in the Conduct of the War.

UPON this, Levies were ordered, the Veteran Soldiers recalled from all Parts, Men and Women were obliged by a Poll, to send in a Soldier to the Service of the War. The Prince declared in Senate, that, Unless Precautions were used, the Enemy would be in Sight of Rome within Ten Days. The Roman Knights and Senators were required to send their Assistance, which they promised to do. But all these Preparations had been ineffectual, had there been no one to direct them. Therefore the Senate requested *Tiberius* of *Augustus*, to be General of the War, and as such, the great Security of the Soldiers. I my self was honoured with

with a considerable Post in this War. When my Commission for the Command of Horse was expired, I was designed for the Questorship, and advanced to an Equality with the Senators, when I was not admitted into that Order ; and tho' the Tribunes of the People were designed, I carried Part of the Army, which was delivered to me by *Augustus*, from the City to his Son. I resigned my Province allotted me in my Questorship, and was detached as a Lieutenant from the Father to the Son. What Forces of the Enemy did I behold in the first Year ? What Advantages did we enjoy by the Conduct of our General, to elude and separate their Forces by our Detachments, which united might have proved so fatal ? With what Sedateness and Wisdom did his Authority interpose for the good of the State ? How prudently did he dispose our Winter-Quarters ? How strongly was the Enemy surrounded by us ? How impossible for him to find any Way, excepting from us ? So that the Rage of their Army broke within itself, and wanting all Things necessary to their Support, the vast Power at last dwindled away and came to nothing.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXII.

The Bravery of Messalinus, who with half a Legion routed 20000 of the Enemy, and has triumphal Ornaments assign'd him. Tiberius's Success against the Enemy. Silvanus and Cæcina, with five Legions, surrounded and endangered by the Enemy, but recovered by the Bravery of the common Soldiers. Agrippa by his debauch'd Life, loses the Favour of Augustus.

THE brave and fortunate Action of *Messalinus*, deserves the Admiration of Posterity ; the Greatness of whose Soul exceeded the Nobility of his Descent : He was worthy such a Father as *Corvinus*, worthy to resign his honourable Name to his Brother *Cotta*. While he was Governour of *Illyricum*, a Rebellion was raised : He was surrounded on every Side, and with no more than one Legion, and that broken and imperfect, he destroyed and put to Flight above Twenty thousand of the Enemy, and received the Triumphal Ensigns as a Reward for his Exploits. The Barbarians had so little Confidence in the Number and Force of their Army, that where-ever *Cæsar* was, they despaired

despaired of Success. Part of their Soldiers were kill'd and reduced by a calamitous Famine to the utmost Distress; so that they durst not oppose our Attacks, nor fight when we gave them the fairest Opportunity. Upon this, they possessed themselves of Mount *Claudius*, and erected Fortifications for their Defence. That Body which assaulted the Detachments which *A. Caccina* and *Silvanus Plantius* levied from the foreign Provinces, cast themselves round five of our Legions, and the Royal Battalions which *Rhemetacles*, King of *Thrace*, brought to assist in this War, which had like to have caused the general Overthrow of all our Army. The King's Forces were cut off, our Wings dismayed, and the Cohorts in great Disorder; the Standards themselves were endangered; But the Roman Valour was retrieved more by the Courage of the Soldiers than the Conduct of the Generals: For they had broke in upon the Enemy, against the Orders of their General, and began the Assault, before the Scouts had brought word where the Enemy lay. When the Legions found themselves in this great Distress, so that some of their Tribunes, the Masters of
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the Camp, and the Cohorts, and many of the Centurions were slain, they encouraged one another, fell upon the Enemy with the greatest Rage, and did not desist till they had broke their Troops, and recovered the Victory. About this Time, *Agrippa*, who was adopted by his Grandfather the same Day with *Tiberius*, and had given evident Proofs of his villanous Disposition, by entring upon the most dishonourable Measures, so that he had lost the Affections of the Emperor, received an End worthy the Baseness of his Mind.

C H A P. CXIII.

Tiberius finding it inconvenient to keep his vast Army together, with great Prudence disperses it to different Quarters. He himself returns to Sicilia.

YOU may here (*M. Vinicius*) take a View of *Tiberius*, as great a General in War, as you now perceive him a prudent Prince in Peace : All the Forces which were under his Command were united : He had ten Legions, above seventy Cohorts, fourteen Wings, and above ten thousand Veteran Soldiers, beside a
X prodigious

prodigious Number who served as Volunteers in his Camp. The greatest Army that ever appeared together since the Civil Wars, rejoicing in their Number, and confident of Victory over all Opposition. But the General, who was the best Judge of what was requisite to be done, and preferred what was really advantageous to what appeared only specious and honourable; who in all his Conduct observed rather what was really approvable, than what was by most commended, made some Stay for the Refreshment of the Troops which had lately arrived; and considering that they were too numerous to submit to a regular Command, he carried them a very difficult March (which was so well disposed, that as none dared to molest us when united, so when separated, we received no Opposition; since all Countries were afraid of our attacking their Borders) and then discharged 'em, to return from whence they came. The Winter began now to be very violent, so that he returned to *Siscia*, and ordered his Lieutenants (among whom I had the Honour to serve) to take Care of the Winter-Quarters.

C H A P. CXIV.

The mild Government and Administration of Tiberius. His great Tendernefs and Care for the sick and wounded Soldiers. Pannonia is obliged to ask a Peace. Baro and Pinetus, the Generals of the Enemy, surrender themselves. The Dalmatians only maintain the War.

THE tender Humanity and Concern of Tiberius, is distinguished in this Particular, which tho' it may not appear in so great a Lustre, is a convincing Argument of his Experience. In all the Time of the German and Pannonian War, not one of a superior, or a lower Degree than my self, had the least Sicknefs: Their Health and Security was so far consulted, that tho' he was obliged to attend other Matters of the greatest Moment and Importance, yet it seemed that this was his greatest Care. The Wearied were always relieved by a Chariot; his own Couch was exposed to publick Use, as I my self have experienced. We had Physicians, and other Conveniencies, especially that of a Bath, which attended the Army. Nothing could be desired but

Houses and Servants, and the necessary Advantages of them were supply'd. This, and whatever else I have related, will be acknowledged by all who were in that Service. The General was carried on Horseback, and in all his Summer Expeditions, he supped with those he invited, sitting. He pardoned all who did not obey Discipline, if their Crimes were not like to prove infectious by Example. He'd frequently reprove, and sometimes use moderate Correction, but never suffer it to proceed to Severity, dissembling the Knowledge of some Faults, while he forbid the Commission of others. This Winter contributed very much to the Conclusion of the War. The following Summer, *Pannonia* desired a Peace; so that now all the Remains of a War were confined to *Dalmatia*. I intend to relate in another Volume, how that fierce and numerous Nation, which not long before menaced *Italy* with Bondage, laid down its Arms at the River *Bathinus*, submitted itself to the Emperor's Clemency, and surrendered their illustrious Commanders, *Bato* and *Pinetus*, one of them being brought by Force, the other willingly resigning himself. Our victorious Army was dismissed
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to Winter-Quarters in *Autumn*. *Tiberius* deputed *M. Lepidus* to the Charge of it, a Man of the next Reputation and Dignity to *Cæsar*, who enjoys the greatest Share of his Affections, and is esteemed by him as an Ornament to the great Titles he inherits.

C H A P. CXV.

Tiberius prepares to oppose the Dalmatians.

Lepidus with a great Army encounters and conquers several Difficulties, and at last, with long and dangerous Marches, joins Tiberius, and is honoured by the Senate with triumphal Ornaments. Dalmatia quieted.

Cæsar now directs his Preparations to the War in *Dalmatia*, my Brother *Magius Celer Velleianus* was his Lieutenant in that Expedition. He received a Testimony of his good Service from him and his Father, by the Honours he received at his Triumph. In the beginning of the Summer, *Lepidus* led his Army out of their Quarters, and marched it through Nations of the greatest Cruelty and Fierceness, which had not yet been affected by

the Calamity of War, towards *Tiberius* ; and at last he brought it (when he had overthrown the most powerful Opposition, ravaged the Fields, and plundered the Towns) laden with Spoils and Victory to *Cæsar*. This Action (which had it been performed by his own Administration, had deserved a Triumph) was rewarded with Triumphal Ornaments, which were decreed to him by the Consent of the Princes and Senate. This Summer put an End to the War. The *Breuci* and *Desiates* of *Dalmatia*, Nations invincible for the Hardiness of their Men, their great Skill in Military Affairs, but especially for the Strength of their Country, and Difficulty of Access to them, were subdued not only by the Conduct, but the Arms and Sword of *Cæsar*, which reduced them to the last Extremities : Nothing was more glorious and distinguishing in this War, than that *Cæsar* rejected all Occasions of Victory which would endanger the Loss of his Men, and preferred their Safety to all the Opportunities of ennobling his own Reputation. The Counsels of the General were never determined by the Judgment of the
2 Army,

Army, but the Soldiers were governed by the Prudence of their Leader.

C H A P. CXVI.

A brief Catalogue of several eminent Men, that had the greatest Share in the Glories of the Pannonian War.

G*ermanicus* gave very great Proofs of his Valour, being often detached to displace the Enemy from many fortified and important Places. *Vibius Posthumus* also, a Man of the Consular Order, and Governor of *Dalmatia*, was honoured with the Ensigns of a Triumph. The same Rewards were not long before conferred upon *Passienus* and *Cossus*, Men illustrious for very different Accomplishments, who commanded in *Africa*; but *Cossus* resigned the Testimony of his Victories to his Son, a Youth born for an Example of Virtue and Merit. *L. Apronius* shared in the Success with *Posthumus*, and discovered in the same War, how well he deserved the Honours he afterwards received. I wish we may never meet with a greater Argument of the Power of Fortune, tho' in this Instance she gives us a notable Example

ample of it : For *Sejanus*, a Person of the most regular Conduct, one who transcribed the Virtues of our Ancestors in every respect, who mixed the Severity of the Ancients with the Courtesy of the present Age, and who had been employed in the highest Offices in *Germany* and *Illyria*, and soon after in *Africa*, tho' he wanted no Merit, never met with an Occasion to deserve a Triumph. *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus*, Son of *P. Silius*, a Man who was very much admired even by those who did not perfectly know him (least he should come short of the Praises of a good Citizen, and an honourable General) was snatched away by the Violence of the Fates, and so excluded from being advanced to the same Degree of Intimacy and Friendship of the Emperor, which his Father had enjoyed. It may be said that I had no Occasion to mention these Men. I readily acknowledge it; however an honest, impartial Candor in relating the Actions of others, is never accounted Criminal by the Good and Virtuous.

C H A P. CXVII.

The News of Varus's Defeat, with the Loss of three Legions, three Wings and six Cohorts, arrives soon after the Conclusion of the Dalmatian War. Varus his Character.

CÆsar had just put an End to the *Pannonian* and *Dalmatian* War, when, within five Days after the Consummation of so great a Work, we received News from *Germany*, that *Varus* was slain, three Legions, as many Wings, and six Cohorts ruined and destroyed. Fortune befriending us in this Particular only, that our General was not employed Abroad at that Time. The Importance of this Affair requires I should say something of the Person who conducted it. *Varus Quinctilius* was rather of an illustrious, than a noble Extraction. He was indolent and sedate in his Temper and Conversation, unactive both in Body and Mind. He had been more inured to the Ease of a Camp, than the Toils of War. His Love of Money appears to be exorbitant, from his entering into the wealthy Province of *Syria* in the greatest Poverty, and returning

ing thence laden with the Riches of the Country, which he had besieged. When he commanded the Army in *Germany*, he thought that People had nothing but the Voice and Shape of Men, and that they were to be allured into Subjection by Laws and Equity, who cou'd not be forced to it by Violence and Arms. Upon this Perswasion, he advanced into the middle of *Germany*, and conceived himself among Men who delighted to enjoy the Sweets of Peace, and accordingly spent the Summer in determining Causes from his Tribunal.

C H A P. CXVIII.

The Methods made use of by Arminius, to seduce the Roman General. The Character of Arminius. His Designs discovered to Varus, but not credited.

BUT they (what no one would believe who is not convinced by Experience) being a People naturally inclined to Diffimulation, disguise a counterfeited Policy, under the Shew of Savageness and Barbarity: They often pretended Suits and Differences when there were really

really none, appealing to the *Roman Tribunal* for Justice; and returning Thanks that they were ended with so much Equity; they seem'd now to recede from their former Cruelty, and suffered the Law to decide those Controversies which were used before to be determined by Arms. Thus they brought *Quintilius* to the highest Opinion of his Safety, so that he seemed rather a Prætor of the City, sitting in a Court of Judicature in the *Forum*, than a General of an Army in the middle of *Germany*. Upon this, one *Arminius*, Son to *Sigimerus*, a Prince of that Nation, a Youth of noble Extraction, great Activity, and wonderful Expedition in his Attempts, who discovered the Ardour and Vehemence of his Mind, by his Looks and Complexion, and had been constantly in our Service in the former War, and was admitted Citizen and Knight of *Rome*, was incited to Villany by the Negligence of our Commander; for he wisely considered, that none were more open to Assaults than they who thought themselves out of Danger, and that Mens seeming Security was often the Occasion of their greatest Calamities: He first revealed his Intentions to a few, and then admitted more

more into his Designs : He perswaded them that the *Romans* might be overthrown ; and to add Force to his Opinion, he appointed a Time for the Execution of his Treachery. *Sergestes*, a Man of great Honour and Fidelity in that Nation, informs *Varus* of their Preparations : But the Fates perplexed his Thoughts, and threw a Cloud over his Understanding ; for it often happens, that upon some great Revolution of Fortune, our very Thoughts are darkned ; and which is the greatest Calamity, whatever befalls us, is looked upon as worthy for us to suffer ; so that Events of Chance are charged as our own Default and Crime. *Varus* gives no Credit to the Intelligence, alledging that he was satisfied of their Good-Will, from a Consciousness of the Good-Offices he had done them ; and when he had thus disregarded the first, there was no room allow'd for a second Information.

C H A P.

C H A P. CXIX.

The Roman Army entirely defeated by the Enemy. Varus kills himself. His Head is cut off and sent to Cæsar.

I Shall endeavour to give a more particular Account of this Overthrow, which was the greatest to the *Romans* in any Foreign Country, since the Defeat of *Crassus* among the *Parthians* (tho' others have already done it) in another Work, at present I shall only lament it. The most valiant, numerous, and well-disciplined Army which the *Romans* ever saw, was lost and destroyed by the Negligence of the General, the Treachery of the Enemy, and the Perverseness of Fortune: They had no Opportunity to make the Resistance they desired to do, since many of them had been severely corrected for acting with the Courage and Spirit of *Romans*; they were surrounded by Woods, Morasses, and Ambuscades, and were cut off by an Enemy which was used to fall before them as Sheep, their Life or Death being determin'd according to the Cruelty or Compassion of the Conqueror. The General was more prepared to die
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than to fight, and following the Example of his Father, and Grandfather, ran himself through with his Sword. The Master of the Camp, *L. Eggius*, gave as noble an Instance of his Valour, as his Colleague *Ceionius* did of his Cowardice, who when his Forces were distressed, surrendered them, and so chose to die as a Malefactor, rather than a Soldier. *Vala Numonius*, the Lieutenant of *Varus*, was guilty of a like infamous Action; he drew away the Horse from the conquered Foot, and endeavoured with the Wings to fly to the *Rhine*: But Fortune revenged his Crime and Perfidiousness, for he did not survive those whom he thus abandoned, but died as a Traitor to them and his Country. The Body of *Varus* half burnt, was tore in Pieces by the Cruelty of the Enemy, his Head was cut off and sent to *Maroboduus*, which he commanded to be carried to *Cesar*, who very honourably interr'd it in the Tombs of his Ancestors.

C H A P. CXX.

The Command of the German War committed to Tiberius. He settles Gallia, passes the Rhine, encounters the Enemy in several successful Battles, and returns in Safety with his Army to their Winter Stations. Two gallant Actions of Asprenas and Ceditius.

CÆsar, when he heard this, flies back to his Father, and as he was always the Patron of his Country, undertook its Revenge, a Cause he had long been employed in: He's dispatched into *Germany*, he confirms *Gaul* in its Allegiance, disposes the Armies, and fortifies the Garrisons; and regarding his own Honour and Reputation more than the Confidence of the Enemy, who threatned *Italy* with the *Cimbric* and *Teutonic* Forces, he passed the *Rhine* with his Army; *Arminius* was dismayed, his Father and Country being content with charging all the Blame upon him; so that *Cæsar* penetrates farther, forces their Borders, ravages their Fields, burns their Houses, overthrows all Opposition, and not having lost a Man of those he brought with him, he carried his

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Army.

Army back into Winter-Quarters. I can't forbear doing Justice to *L. Asprenas* : He commanded under his Uncle *Varus*, and by his indefatigable Industry preserved his two Legions from any Hurt in that great Overthrow, and by a prudent and timely Retreat to his Winter-Quarters, encouraged the Fidelity of the Nations on this side the *Rhine*, which were before extremely affrighted and wavering. But there are some who assert, that as he preserved the Lives of his own Men, so he seized upon the Estates of those who died under *Varus*, and made himself Heir to the Possessions of the vanquished Army. We are likewise to observe the singular Valour of *Lucius Ceditius*, Master of the Camp, and those who under him were beset and surrounded by a vast Body of the *Germans* ; for tho' the want of Provisions had reduced them to great Extremity, and the unequal Force of the Enemy almost to Despair, yet not push'd on by any rash Measures, or improvident to turn every Occasion to their Advantage, they spied an Opportunity, and bravely forced their Way through their Enemies to our Army, with their Swords, and overcame all Opposition. From hence it appears,

appears, that *Varus*, tho' well-meaning, was of too sloathful and easy a Temper; that it was a defect in the Conduct of the General, rather than in the Valour of his Soldiers, to which we owe the Loss of so gallant an Army. The *Germans* were extremely inhumane to the Captives, which occasioned the brave Action of *Caldus Cælius*, a Man very worthy the Antiquity of his Descent; he laid hold of the Chain with which he was bound, and dashed it against his Head, so that he expired by the Effusion of his Brains, and Loss of his Blood.

C H A P. CXXI.

The great Successes of Tiberius in the next Year's War. He is equal in Authority with Augustus, and triumphs over the Pannonians and Dalmatians.

THE Soul of *Tiberius* was now actuated with the same Success, and inspired with the same Valour which it had displayed before. He defeated the Enemies Forces by Land and Sea, when he had composed the Affairs of *Gaul*, and the Sedition of the incensed City of *Vienna*,

enna, more by Perswasion than Punishment. Upon this, the Senate and People of *Rome* (at the Request of his Father) invested him with an equal Power over the Provinces and Armies, with the Emperor himself, by a Decree which they passed; (for 'twas preposterous, that he should not command what he himself had defended; that he who was always the first in asserting, should not receive the Honour due to the Restorer of the Rights of his Country.) He now returned to the City, and what he had long since deserved, but was forced to defer upon Account of the Continuance of the War, he triumphed from *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*. Who can't but admire the Magnificence of *Cæsar*, and the Indulgence of Fortune to him? For we were not barely informed of the Destruction of so many noble Commanders of the Enemy, but saw them led Prisoners at his Triumph, which my Brother and I had the Honour to attend, among many other great Men who received Rewards for their Service.

C H A P. CXXII.

The great Modesty of Tiberius, in accepting three Triumphs, when he had deserved, and might have demanded seven.

THE Moderation of *Tiberius Cæsar* is distinguished in nothing more than in this Particular, that when he had beyond all Dispute deserved seven Triumphs, he contented himself with three only : For who can doubt but that he deserved an Ovant Triumph for his bringing *Armenia* into the Subjection of *Rome*, investing a King with the Crown of that Country (which he placed upon his Head with his own Hand) and composing the Affairs of the East. Who cou'd deny him a Right to enter the City in a triumphal Chariot, for his Conquest of the *Rhati* and *Vindelici*. The same Honour ought to have been proposed to, and accepted by him, for his weakning the Forces of *Germany* by a War of three successive Years after his Adoption. He deserved the most illustrious Triumph, for destroying and reducing *Germany*, after the Defeat of *Varus*. But you can't resolve whether you'll admire him more for his glo-

rious Exploits, and most difficult Successes, or for his Moderation in refusing those Honours they deserved.

C H A P. CXXIII.

Augustus, in his Way to Campania, sickens at Nola, and dies in the 76th Year of his Age. His Behaviour to Tiberius in his last Moments.

WE are now come to the Time when every one was in the utmost Fear. *Cæsar Augustus* had sent his Grandson *Germanicus*, into *Germany*, to put an End to the Remains of that War. He was about to dispatch his Son *Tiberius* into *Illyria*, to settle that Country in Peace, which he had subdued by Arms, when he designed speedily to follow, yet first to be present at the Diversions of Wrestling, which the *Neapolitans* instituted in Honour of him, upon which he prepares to go into *Campania*. He had already perceived some Symptoms of an Indisposition, and the declining of his Health; but the Greatness of his Mind strove against it, so that he went after his Son, and parting with him at *Bene-*
ventum,

ventum, he himself turned from thence to *Nola*. His Illness grew upon him daily, upon which he sent for *Tiberius* in the greatest Haste (he being the only Person who could preserve the Security of the Empire) who returned to his Father much sooner than he could expect. *Augustus* now declared himself to be in the greatest Safety, and in the dearest Embraces of *Tiberius*, resign'd himself, and all his Concerns to him, affirming, that he refused not now to die, if the Fates had so ordained it. He was enlivened at the Sight, and with the Discourse of his beloved Son ; but his Disease at last overcame all Endeavours ; so that giving way to Fate, he resign'd his Soul to Heaven in the Seventy-sixth Year of his Age, in the Consulship of *Pompey* and *Apuleius*.

C H A P. CXXIV.

The Fears and Consternation of the People at the Death of Augustus, remov'd by Tiberius; his Behaviour to the People when they offer'd him the Empire, which he first refuses, but is afterwards prevail'd on to accept.

THE Universal Fears of the City, the Terror of the Senate, the Confusion of the People, the Distress of the whole Empire, and the great Crisis of the eternal Safety or Fall of Rome, is what my haste obliges me to pass by, as too copious a Subject for one who has no more Leisure to prosecute it. But this I must confess in the Name of all the Publick, That whereas we were apprehensive of the Destruction of the whole Empire, we scarcely perceived it in the least Commotion. So great was the Reputation of one single Person, that there was no Occasion for Swords, either to defend good Men, or to restrain the wicked. The only Contest was in the City, when the Senate and People pressed upon Cæsar, to accept the Dignities of his Father, who answered them, That he had rather

rather live a private Citizen, than an illustrious Prince. At last he was prevailed upon by Reason, rather than Ambition; for he considered, that every Thing would perish which had not the Security of his Protection. Thus he became the only Instance of refusing the Government almost as long as others had contended for it with Arms. When his Father had been restored to Heaven, and his Funeral solemnized with all human and divine Honours, he made it his first Care to regulate the Elections, a Model of which his Father had left behind him, in his own Hand Writing. In that Juncture, my Brother and my self had the Favour (being *Cæsar's* * Candidates) after many Noblemen, and Persons of the Sacerdotal Order, to be appointed *Prætors*: We being the last which were recommended by *Augustus*, and the first who were proposed by *Tiberius Cæsar*.

* *Candidati Cæsaris sunt, quos ipse Cæsar in honorum petitione commendabat. Quinctil. Lib. 6. cap. 3.*

C H A P. CXXV.

A Mutiny in Illyricum and Germany, appeased by the prudent Management of Tiberius. The Character of Junius Blæsus.

THE Commonwealth soon received the Rewards of its Councils and Desires, for it immediately appeared what Calamities we had suffered if we had not prevailed, and what Advantages accrued to us by the Success of our Wishes. The Army which was in *Germany*, and under the immediate Command of *Germanicus*, with the Legions which were in *Illyricum*, out of an exorbitant Ambition, and Desire of putting every thing into Confusion, demanded a new General, a new State, and a new Commonwealth: They had the Confidence to threaten they wou'd impose Laws upon the Senate and Prince, and endeavoured to make themselves Judges what their Salaries should be, and how long they were obliged to serve in the War. Their Fury proceeded to Arms and Violence, which was carried on almost with lawless Impunity, wanting rather one to head, than others to second the Conspiracy. But all this Confusion
and

and Disorder was suppressed, and perished by the Experience of their old General, who restrained some Proceedings by his Authority, promised them some Favours out of his Princely Generosity, punished the Authors of the Sedition with Severity, and applied moderate Correction to the rest. As *Germanicus's* Conduct in this Affair was very remiss, so *Drusus*, a Youth of prodigious Vivacity and Spirit, who was sent by his Father to allay this Tumult, exposed himself to great Difficulties and Dangers, (which had like to have been destructive to himself, as they were by adhering too rigorously to the ancient Discipline, and defended himself against the Besieged with their own Weapons, which first enclosed him. *Junius Blasus*, a Man as useful in the City as the Camp, was a great Instrument in this Success. He was a few Years afterwards Proconsul in *Afric*, where he obtained Triumphal Ornaments. He was after this made Governour of *Spain*, and the Forces which had so eminently distinguished themselves in the *Illyrian* War. These he continued and preserved in the greatest Peace and Tranquillity; for as he had the most

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honest

honest Designs and Intentions, so he never wanted Authority to put them in Execution. *Dolabella*, a Man of a generous Sincerity, imitated his Care and Fidelity in the greatest part of the War in *Illyria*.

C H A P. CXXIV.

A short Account of Tiberius's Government of the Empire for 16 Years.

WH O would give a distinct Account of the Administration of these 16 Years, which is imprinted already upon every ones Mind. *Cesar* now had consecrated his Father, not by the Supremacy of his Power, but from a Motive of Religious Duty. He did not only name him, but installed him a God. Fidelity is now restored to the Courts of Judicature, Sedition displaced from the *Forum*, Ambition from the Camp, and Discord from the Senate; Justice, Equity, and Industry, which before were unregarded, and buried in Obscurity, are received into the City. The Magistrates enjoy their Authority, the Senate its Grandeur, the Judges their Gravity; the Disorders of the Theatre are suppressed;

fed; every one who is not influenced by his own Conscience, is obliged by Necessity to act with Integrity and Honour. Vertuous Deeds are esteemed, vicious Actions are punished. The Mean acknowledge their Subjection to the Great, without fear of them; the Great look upon those beneath them, without Contempt. When were our Provisions under better Regulation? When was there a more happy Peace? Which is disseminated into the Countries of the East and West, is extended to the utmost Borders of the North and South, and preserves every Corner of the Empire from the Molestation of Pirates and Rapine. The Munificence of the Prince, relieves the accidental Misfortunes not only of private Members, but Cities themselves. The Towns of *Asia* are restored, the Provinces freed from the Oppression of the Magistrates; Promotions are conferred upon the Deserving, and Punishment, tho' late, is sure to overtake the Guilty. Interest is overcome by Equity, since the Prince influences the Manners of the People, by the Lustre of his own Conduct; and as he presides over all in Authority, so he does in Example.

C H A P. CXXVII.

Tiberius, after the Example of Augustus and Scipio, takes into his Favour Ælius Sejanus. His Descent and Character.

IT seldom happens that Men of great Fortune and Dignity do not use the Assistance of others in the Administration of it, as the two *Scipio*s did that of the *Lælij*, whom they advanced equal with themselves, as the *Divine Augustus* did that of *M. Agrippa*, and next to him, that of *Stat. Taurus*, the Obscurity of whose Families was no Obstacle to their being illustrious, in *Consulships*, *Triumphs*, and the Dignities of many *Priesthoods*; for great and weighty Affairs require great Assistances, which are not designed by those who act in a lower Sphere in the Commonwealth. And 'tis the Interest of the State, that the most advantageous to it should be ever adorned with the highest Honours; and the most useful be guarded with Authority. *Tiberius* follows these prudent Measures, and admits *Sejanus Ælius* as his chief Assistant in Affairs of State, descended from a noble Family of the Equestrian Order, who by his Mother

Mother was allied to many very honourable and illustrious Persons, having Brothers, Cousin Germans, and an Uncle of the Consular Order, himself being a Man of great Fidelity and Expedition in Business (the Constitution of his Body being suited to the Capacities of his Mind) a Man of a very pleasing Severity, and a regular Cheerfulness; who in his Carriage was such, as he appear'd seldom really intent upon a Thing; but by his seeming not over solicitous for any Honour, obtain'd what would gratify the highest Ambition, who entertain'd a much lower Opinion of himself, than others conceiv'd of him; easie in his Behaviour and Conversation, his Mind always sprightly, active, and indefatigable.

C H A P. CXXVIII.

Tiberius's Favour to Sejanus, confirm'd by the good Opinion of the People towards him, and the Examples of several eminent Persons, Favourites of former Princes.

THE Judgment of the City concerning this Man, vies with the Opinion the Prince has of him; for 'tis not

at all unusual, that the Senate and People of *Rome* should think him the most noble, who is the most deserving: Our Ancestors before the *Punic War*, 300 Years since, promoted *Ti. Coruncanius*, a Man of a low Descent, through many other Honours, particularly the High-Priesthood, to the highest Dignity in the State: *Sp. Carvilius*, of an Equestrian Family, and not long after *M. Cato*, and *Mummius Achaicus*, were advanced to be *Consuls*, *Censors*, and to receive the Honour of *Triumphs*. They who admitted *C. Marius*, an obscure Person, to be seven times Consul, and the chief Man among the *Romans*, who raised *M. Tullius* to that Dignity; that of all the great Offices of State were dispos'd of by his Will and Approbation, who deny'd nothing to *Afinius Pollio*, which others could not have obtained without the greatest Difficulty and Danger, did certainly conclude, that that Man deserved the greatest Favours and Preferment, who approved himself to be the most virtuous. A natural Imitation of this Custom, inclined *Caesar* to Experience *Sejanus*; and *Sejanus* to ease *Caesar* of the Burthens and Fatigues of State, and disposed the Senate and People of
Rome,

Rome, to appeal to him as the Security of the Publick, who had always distinguished himself to be the most useful Man in it.

C H A P. CXXIX.

Tiberius commended for his Behaviour to Rhascupolis, Libo, Maroboduus and Germanicus: A Panegyrick on several of his noble and vertuous Actions in the beginning of his Reign.

I Have already represented the general Draught of *Tiberius's* Government; give me leave now to run over the Particulars of it. With what Prudence did he command *Rhascupolis*, who kill'd *Corys* his Brother's Son, and Colleague with him in his Kingdom, to appear before him, being assisted in that Affair by *Flaccus Pomponius*, a Man of the Consular Order, one born to the Performance of honourable Actions, who always deserved Promotion by his Integrity, before he aspired to it. With what a Seriousness and Gravity does he attend to the hearing of Causes, as a Judge and a Senator, not as a Prince? With what Expedition did he suppress

suppress the ungrateful *Libo*, who aimed at Innovations in the State ! How generously did he instruct his *Germanicus*, and prepar'd him with Experience, which he taught him in his own Camp, and then received him the Conqueror of *Germany* ! How gloriously did he load his Youth with Honours ! The Ornaments of his Triumph answering the Grandeur of his Atchievements ! How often did he oblige the People with Distributions of Corn, and perfect the Regulation of the Senate, tho' he might have done it without their Advice, so as neither to give any Invitation to Luxury, or deprive an honest Poverty of the Dignities it deserves ! How gloriously did he dispatch his *Germanicus* into the Provinces beyond Sea ! How powerful were his Counsels, which by the Administration of his Son *Drusus*, and a prudent Application of his Measures, obliged *Maroboduus*, who (without Offence to his Majesty) lay sculking as a Serpent in the Earth, on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, to retreat from his Hold ! How honourably and yet securely does he still confine him within his own Realm ! How suddenly did he extinguish that dangerous and important War, which was raised by

Sacrovir,

Sacrovir, a Prince of the *Gauls*, and *Florus Julius*, so that the *Romans* knew that they had conquered, before they were well appris'd they were in Arms, and had News of the Victory, before they received the least Information of Danger ! The Terror of the *African* War, which gathered Strength every Day, was presently suppress'd by his Direction and Conduct.

C H A P. CXXX.

Several magnificent Structures built by Tiberius, with several private and publick Damages repair'd by him : An Expostulation, why so good a Prince should meet with so many Evils and undeserv'd Calamities ?

WHAT Works has he erected upon his own, and the Account of his Family ? With how religious a Munificence, almost beyond the Belief of Man, is he building a Temple to his Father ? With what a generous Temper of Mind did he repair the Buildings of *Tompey*, which were destroyed by Fire ; as if he thought himself obliged to protect every Thing which had ever been great

great and illustrious ? With what a Liberality (as upon other Occasions) does he relieve the Losses suffered by Fire, upon Mount *Calius*, out of his own Revenues ? How calmly and peaceably does he provide for Supplies, without the Fears of a Levy, the chief Terror of the People ? If our Condition by Nature, or our Dependance on the Gods, would allow us to complain ; how has he deserv'd, that *Libo* first, and then *Silius* and *Piso*, one of whom he had advanced to Honour, and augmented those of the other, should form Conspiracies against him ? To mention greater Misfortunes, tho' these were what afflicted him the most, what was his Offence, that he should lose both his Sons when young, and his Grandson by *Drusus* ? Hitherto we have related Matters of Grief ; we are now come to those of Shame and Reproach. How have the last three Years (illustrious *Vinicius*) distracted his Mind with Sorrow ? How long has he been tormented by a violent (and what's much more lamentable) concealed Affliction ? His Daughter-in-Law and Nephew, excite his Passion, his Shame, and Indignation. These Calamities were enhanced by the Death

Death of his Mother, an honourable and virtuous Woman, who in all her Conduct resembled the Gods rather than any thing human. Her Power was never exerted, but for the Relief of the distressed, or Advancement of the deserving. I must conclude my Work with a Prayer.

C H A P. CXXXI.

The Conclusion, a Prayer for the Safety of the Roman Emperor, and the Protection of the Roman State.

O Jupiter Capitolinus, the Founder and Establisher of the Roman Name; thou Father Mars, and Vesta, the Preserver of the Eternal Fire; and whatever other Deities have advanced this prodigious Body of an Empire to the Supreme Sovereignty over the whole Universe; I do in the Name of the whole People, implore and conjure you to Protect, Guard, and Defend this State, this Peace, and this Prince; and when he has survived to the last extent of human Life, appoint him Successors, who may be as able to support the Grandeur of the Empire, as we
are

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*are sensible he is to promote the honest Coun-
sels of the Citizens, and suppress their Treache-
rous Designs. **

* The last Line is imperfect in the Original,
but is supplied by *Vossius*, as it is rendered.

FINIS.



